PERCEPTIONS OR REALITY

(A STUDY OF JOB-ATTITUDES OF DELHI TRAFFIC POLICE)

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FOREWORD

This study is about the way an organisation handles its people. It is also about the 'perceptual world' these people have been living in as a consequence of the various organisational policies and practices. The intention behind this enquiry was to enable the management of that organisation—traffic police department in a metropolitan city—understand and examine the 'world' thus revealed and then determine suitable measures to improve the morale of its people.

Employee-morale is not only a very complex phenomenon (for, it is influenced by a buzzing variety of factors that lie both within the organisation and without) but also one of the least-understood aspects of modern management, particularly in government agencies in India. Here is a book which no one who is concerned with this least-understood-aspect can afford to neglect because, despite its roots in a particular setting, the general tenor of the study and its contents are all designed to be of immense help to any management—higher or middle—in a meaningful understanding of the problem of employee-morale. It is especially invaluable for police administrators whose primary job in their organisations is management of men because most problems and remedies discussed in the book are common to all police units (regardless of the tasks they are engaged in) and, hence, can be said to be widely applicable.
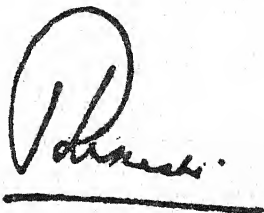
The study's empirical part has been very aptly narrated and provides, at several places, interesting and intimate verbal 'close-ups' of the respondents' perceptions of their working conditions, superiors, and of the organisation, as a whole.

Another distinctive feature of the study is that the author's perspective is largely shaped by System's approach to the analysis of problems encountered and the practical solutions offered by him.

"Perceptions or Reality" by **Raj Nandy** is timely, for the focus in the country today is on police and the low morale of its rank and file. We in India have often appointed many all-India and State-level commissions/committees to inquire into the functioning of the police. While these highly-powered bodies and their comprehensive reports have certainly rendered useful assistance by their analysis of the wider issues affecting the system, it would be generally agreed, however, that it is only micro studies of this sort that bring to the fore the internal frailties that seem to beset the system and, thereby, cripple its effectiveness.

In a climate when most police organisations in India have not yet started or are not willing to involve themselves in researches of this kind or the other to help them with some of their specific problems, the fact that one of them chose to throw its doors open for a researcher to step in and let him investigate its 'human side' is, to my mind, indicative of a healthy trend and is a matter of congratulations for that department. I trust that this study will prove to be a happy augury for studies of other management problems as well in police.

For a more effective administration an understanding of human behaviour, in general, and that of employees at work, in particular, is very essential. Without this knowledge, there is little chance of managing people in government offices in India. In my judgment, this study is an important addition to the understanding of the organisation behaviour in our administrative system.

NEW DELHI
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(P.R. DUBHASHI)
Director

PREFACE

A theme that runs throughout this modest study—its 'theoretical' as well as the 'concrete' part—is 'job-attitudes'—which, to my mind, constitute the sum and substance of organisation behaviour. For, if information on these 'attitudes' can be gathered periodically, the management would always be in a position to know the reasons why the employees behave the way they do—negatively or positively. By contrast, if no such data are available, the management might delude themselves into the belief that they already knew what was on the minds of the employees or, at best, make some conjectures or assumptions about the employees' ways of thinking. For example, when a top-level police officer goes round his work-area and finds his men sluggish or disinterested in their jobs, he certainly knows that something is wrong, but what is difficult for him to know is: 'what' and 'why' of this behaviour of his men. On the contrary, when his own observations are supported by in-depth interviews and by the analysis of responses to a carefully-constructed questionnaire, he can not only get an accurate idea of the feelings of his men but the information, thus, obtained can also provide him an excellent start for organisational analysis and development ; after all, one can't select a 'remedy' without knowing the 'malady'. This is particularly true in an organisation in which a large percentage of its members have to directly meet and deal with the public every day and, therefore, are largely responsible for the image the public comes to have of the organisation. The study, reported in this volume, attempts to bridge this kind of a 'communication gap' within the Delhi traffic police—*i.e.*, tell the management what the supervisors at the intermediate level think of them and of the organisational policies and practices.

In the West, such studies came into vogue soon after the

World War II and, since then, an ever-increasing number of managements have been making good use of these to get themselves 'assessed' at regular intervals in the eyes of their employees, and then utilize that assessment to make suitable modifications in their policies and practices. But, unfortunately, here in India most managements in government have singularly failed to make use of this diagnostic tool to get ideas to improve their functioning. The reason is not far to seek : the very idea of letting a researcher ask the employees of their opinions about the organisation's policies and practices can be rather disquieting to the top-level men and their opposition seems to spring from the fear that if research findings showed their policies or style of functioning in bad light, this would not only hurt their self-esteem but might also 'affect' their career prospects. So, they prefer to do at Rome (bureaucratic organisations) as the Romans (bureaucrats) do and swim with the stream (frown upon research and the researchers). But, I must say that Mr. P. S. Bawa, then Deputy Commissioner of the Delhi Traffic Police, does not belong to that breed of bureaucrats in India. He is the type of official who would risk newness and innovation and is constantly trying to discover and apply new management techniques that would help him develop the potential of his men. In fact, he almost startled me by offering, on a platter, his 'entire organisation' as a research resource if that would help push the efficiency-level of his organisation from, say, 30 per cent to 40 per cent. His contribution to this piece of research is, undoubtedly, the most significant because but for his support this endeavour could not have been launched and completed within a period stretching barely 14 months.

The term 'perceptions' used in the title of this study, "Perceptions or Reality", warrants a word of explanation. I use it to mean 'subjective opinions'. Take, for example, respondents' perception that "Headquarters' staff is always over-rated and, hence, over-rewarded" (p. 126). Whether or not this perception is merely a 'subjective opinion' or a 'reality' is not for me to judge. But, since a criticism has popped up, the management must take a hard look at it and clear up the misunderstanding if it is not a reality. It would

be wrong to treat this reaction merely as a complaint from a bunch of the disgruntled.

Chapter I has been specifically written for management practitioners in Government in India. They should find this Chapter of considerable value, for it : (a) includes theories/ideas of some of the leading behavioural scientists in the West, (b) attempts to place the debate on job-attitudes in the West today in proper perspective, and finally, (c) assesses the applicability of some of those theories/ideas to the Indian conditions.

Besides, knowledge about this behavioural literature would not only provide the public administrator a framework to analyze the job-attitudes of his men but also help him develop appropriate organisational strategies to make them more productive.

Mr. A.K. Joshi, Assistant Librarian, was ever ready to help me in locating reference materials or drawing my attention to any book/article that had a bearing on the study. The dreary job of typing and duplicating the draft report and its revision was accomplished by Mrs. Vimla Soni. Mr. R.K. Kaushik prepared the jacket design. My sincere thanks to all of them.

Lastly, I must record my appreciation to all members of the Publication Division of the Institute who assumed the rather difficult task of seeing the manuscript through the press within a relatively short time.

CONTENTS

Research into 'things' is decades ahead of research into 'people'. That is why, man is much more advanced in 'technical aspects' than in 'social aspects'.

—ELTON MAYO

One JOB-ATTITUDES: A HISTORICAL AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

One of the frustrating phenomena that most organisations the world over face today is that of grappling with the nature of the job-attitudes of their non-achieving or low-output employees. What to speak of the third-world countries, even in the West—exceptions apart—the 'Protestant Ethic' (simply stated, 'achievement-ethic') which Max Weber[1] so fondly spoke of, no longer seems to govern the attitudes of the work-force there—the 'ethic' which, in association with the 'spirit of capitalism',[2] as per Max Weber, opened the way for the tremendous economic progress in that part of the world ever since the industrial era began. Frederick Herzberg, one of the most articulate spokesmen in the field of 'job-attitudes' appears to express a similar fear when he says :

The protestant ethic is being replaced by an avoidance ethic in our world of work...[3].

Efficiency, production of goods/services are falling off, and newspaper headlines, such as, 'labour crisis deepening', 'millions of manhours lost', 'month-old strike continues' often come to us as sad reminders of this general malaise. Of course, there are doers and achievers in organisations but they are numbered few, as compared to those who belong to the opposite category. If that were not true, how else one would explain the deluge of literature pouring out of the West, offering advice to managements on how best to understand and handle their employees. Designed to tone up managerial abilities, an increasing number of behavioural technologies — say, Sensitivity Training, T-Group, Managerial Grid, OD (and, now Transcendental Meditation)—are making inroads into training programmes, seminars and management education.

It is not uncommon to come across observations in academic writings that if administrators move away from 'Theory X' to 'Theory Y' (or from 'System 1' to 'System 4'), they can handle their subordinates more effectively. Indeed, a number of organisations there are, either, themselves trying to use the findings of the behavioural sciences to obtain greater productivity from their employees or are found retaining management cosultants in behavioural sciences to help them achieve those objectives.

What is at the root of such a widespread discontentment, unrest or dissatisfaction amongst the employees ? A great deal has been written by philosophers, religious thinkers, social scientists (even yogis from India),[4] from time to time, about job attitudes and the many variations of this theme.

For instance, one variation of the term 'job-attitudes' is 'work-attitudes'. Are the two words, namely, 'job' and 'work' different from each other? The Webster dictionary defines 'job' as "a piece of work, task, position, or any definite work undertaken in gross especially, for a fixed price", and the term 'work', according to it, incorporates meanings, such as, "exertion or struggle of faculties to accomplish something; toil, labour; also employment, occupation". Bryan acknowledges difficulty in arriving at a rigorous definition of the word 'work' because this word, "like most other English words, has many connotations".[5] Says Heneman, Jr. :

Concepts of work vary with time, place, culture, and society. Work is not the same in India, China, Russia, Africa, and the United States. Not only is work culturally defined but, within any one society, concepts of work vary in terms of objectives, efforts, perspective (such as employer versus employee), reward system, and sets of beliefs, perceptions, and values. Indeed, even within subgroups in one society there are substantial individual differences in the meanings of concepts of work. Changes in the lives of individuals, groups, and civilisations yield changes in the concepts of work. With the increasing tempo of change in the late twentieth century, concepts of work in the year 2001 A.D. will not be the same as those in the year 1970.[6]

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

Offering a comprehensive review of the history of concepts of human work, Heneman, Jr., provides what he calls "somewhat eversimplified list of the major historical concepts of work :"

1. In his primitive state, man took his food and shelter when and where he found them. He then began to domesticate plants and animals. As his own fertility made work more demanding, he developed technology (the use of a stick to plant seeds) and work-related social concepts (division of labour—for example, whereby women tended the fields and children while men hunted and fished, made war, and captured slaves). He developed superstitions about nature and designed certain work arrangements to placate his gods and the evil spirits. As occupational and social strata developed, the lowest classes got the most physically demanding jobs.

2. To the Greek and Roman philosophers, work was punishment and drudgery, doled out by the gods. Work was evil, leisure was luxurious and good. Leisure (or nonwork) permitted exercise of the mind and spirit—man's loftiest occupation. Manual labour was tiring, vulgar, degrading, and the enemy of the soul.

3. The Hebrew philosophers viewed work as a form of punishment and atonement for sins. Work was a means to a better world; contemplation alone would not suffice to attain the Kingdom of God on earth. The Christians held that work was good for man, whereas idleness was not. Work could yield a surplus of goods and services that the Christians could share with those less fortunate—the poor, sick, ill and needy. To the early Christian, work was a means to charity or to avarice, to goodness or sin.

4. The early Catholic philosophers distinguished between spiritual and material efforts; the lay brothers did manual work and the religious brothers performed intellectual labour... St. Thomas Acquinas ranked

the type of manual work : agricultural occupations first, handicrafts second, and commerce last.

5. According to Luther, work was good for man and was a way of serving God. Work was required to meet man's needs; hence each should do his best in the vocation to which he was called...Calvin held that man exists only to glorify God and to help establish the Kingdom of God on earth. Thus, he should work to make a profit so that he could do more to help the poor, the richer man became, the more virtuous he was.

6. The industrial revolution, accompanied by changes in economic and social values, stripped work of its religious connotations. Materialism advanced as goods and services increased. The working day was shortened, working conditions were vastly improved, incomes were raised, education was available to almost all, rising expectations were realised, and living standards rose to new heights. A twentieth century middle-class family lives in material luxury undreamed of by a monarch a century earlier. Savings and wealth not only make leisure activities possible, but recreation has become a necessity.[7]

In broad historical perspective, thus, the meaning of work has always been viewed or interpreted in relation to the 'values', the 'beliefs', the 'needs', and the 'technology', man has lived through or adopted at different times.

Cutting through all these tangles and emphasizing the 'organisation man'[8] character of the contemporary society, Bryan simplifies matters by providing useful meanings of the twin or interchangeable terms 'work' and 'job' as follows :

Most of today's work is performed in large industrial settings. Many of us work for organizations run by professional managers. Division of labour is generally practised. Activity is geared to high production and large profits. Most men and women work directly with machines. Their work is accomplished on a scheduled basis during designated working hours ...

The specificity of work and its temporal and physical constraints have led to the modern concept of the job. This concept is at the core of much current dissatisfaction with work.[9]

Attempts to define the term 'job' have taken several approaches. For example, if the sociologists perceive it as a 'status' within a hierarchy of statuses comprising the social structure[10], the industrial engineers use it in a 'job-shop' sense, *i.e.,* as a piece of work to be done or a part of a product to be made.[11] The US department of labour, however, views a 'job' as a collection of activities or tasks that comprise the work assignment of one or more workers.[12]

If the association between 'work' and 'job' is one of alike or closely-related terms, the association between 'work'/'job' and 'attitudes' is an association between an 'employee' and his 'job' because the 'employee' includes the 'attitudes' and the two constitute a single system.

What is the meaning of the word 'attitudes' ? By 'attitudes' is meant "posture or bearing as indicating action, or feelings or 'mood' " (Webster), or as "reactions of a nervous system to a cognitive factor as it is screened through the value system of the individual".[13] Having understood the meanings of the words 'job' and 'attitudes', a suggested definition of the term 'job attitudes' could be :

feelings/predisposition or reactions of an individual employee to some symbol or object or aspect of his job environment in a favourable or unfavourable manner. The symbol/object can be a concept, an individual, a group, a philosophy, a behaviour, or an institution".[14]

THEORETICAL OVERVIEW

Certain concepts of management—including 'work/job attitudes' as we have seen above—can be said to have been rooted, consciously or unconsciously, in ancient times. It would, however, be better to start our discussion with the period of industrial revolution because it was during this period (and in the West where it first hit) that the develop-

ment of organisation theory, as applied to the modern organisation, took shape. To quote James D. Mooney and Alan C. Riley :

> ... the fact remains that industrial organisation, as we have known it today, is the most modern of all human institutions, a product mainly in our times and, thus, comparatively speaking, has no history.[15]

Amongst the far-reaching changes that industrial revolution brought about were : (a) man who was the primary source of energy in the middle ages was replaced by power-driven machinery, and (b) dawn-to-dusk work-day began to disappear from the new factory towns—fore-runners of modern urbanisation. But, from the organisational point of view, perhaps the two most important changes were : 'division of labour' and 'specialisation'. For, in contrast to the craftsman of the earlier times who produced the 'total product', the industrial worker was performing smaller and smaller pieces of the 'total product'. Besides, his work was interdependent in a complex way with the work of many others. The industrial revolution period also became an age of 'specialisation' because, first, no single individual could master all the skills required in operating or managing a particular organisation and, second, it was found that by concentrating on a particular task or set of tasks, a worker could develop greater skill in a specific job. Of course, one of the tragedies of this development was that for a typical worker his job became an endless repetitive activity to be performed every succeeding day. He was also less involved in the job because he felt no sense of creation or accomplishment in the fragmented slice of the job he was given to do.

Any discussion of the history of modern management must also include a reference to Frederick W. Taylor, the father of 'scientific management school' in the West because of his multifarious contributions to the management thought as a mechanical engineer, a plant manager, and a writer, because it was he (more than anybody else) who is credited with having taken the first step toward the rationalisation of human methods of work around the turn of the present century.

Although considerable benefits to mankind have been attributed to the general adoption of the scientific management principles the world over,[16] but notes Viteles :

> The growing dependence upon the machine, the faith in its powers, combined with the play of such forces as increased labour supply, the individualism of a pioneering era, etc., led particularly in the early phases of industrialisation, to the development of a mechanistic orientation with respect to the worker himself. Labour came to be looked upon as a commodity value to be gauged by the same standards of maximum use, periodic replacement, and scrapping when damaged or worn out, as was the machine.[17]

One of the criticisms levelled against Taylor was that he took an engineering view of workers and was largely concerned with operations, such as, 'work improvement', and 'work measurement', *i e.*, telling workers exactly what, when, and how to do. His assumption was that a worker was primarily motivated by economic gains and his attitude towards his job would be determined by the amount of money (differential piece-rates) he can make on the job. In his own words :

> What the workmen want from their employers beyond anything else is high wages, and what employers want from their workmen is a low labour cost of manufacture.[18]

Edwin A. Locke writes :

> He implicitly assumed that a worker who accepted the scientific management philosophy and who received the highest possible earnings with the least amount of fatigue would be satisfied and productive.[19]

It follows from the above that, according to 'scientific management' principles, once an employee's income was maximized and fatigue minimized, his innate desire to shirk work would be reduced and his productivity, consequently, increased. This was how the proponents of these principles tried to discover ways in which the job-attitudes of the employees could be influenced in a positive manner.

While 'scientific management' in America had its assumptions about the job-attitudes of the employees rooted in economic incentives, another contemporary school of thought, *i.e.*, the classical 'Bureaucratic Model' by the German sociologist, Max Weber,[20] sought to explain the job-attitude of the employees as an essential element of a rational organisation (based upon logical division and coordination of work through a hierarchy of authority, written policy and rules, formal procedures, impersonal power, etc.) in which the behavioural standardisation of all the members of the organisation is made possible through the doctrine of 'formal discipline' and in which the notion of a career 'commitment' is expected of all the members. But, scholars like Merton[21] and others showed how the 'rule of law', a basic feature of Max Weber's rational bureaucratic organisation, was turned into 'rule of men' through 'displacement of goals' by the members of the organisation.

Then came the Hawthorne Experiments[22] (1927-1932) of the 'Human Relations School' which dramatically turned the spotlight away from the 'economic' or the 'rational' view of employees to the 'social view'. The study showed that their attitudes towards jobs were not always affected by the money motive but rather by diverse social and psychological factors, such as, the supervisory practices, and the influence of the 'informal work-group'. The study emphasized the importance of friendly management-employee relations and generally associated 'higher productivity' with 'happy workforce' (that is to say, increasing happiness of workers would result in higher productivity). The school suggested that managements required both 'technical skills' as well as 'social skills' and that letting employees participate in the conduct of the organisational affairs (pertaining to them) would satisfy their psychological needs and make them feel important. 'Participation', thus, became an important approach with the human relationists.

A careful look at the three major schools of thought, *i.e.*, the scientific management, the bureaucratic model, and the human relations, however, would reveal two important differences: First, while the first two were based upon subjectively-arrived assumptions about human behaviour and used 'external controls' (economic incentives and formal

discipline) for controlling job-attitudes, the human relations school relied upon objective methods of investigation and study[23] and changed the focus from externally-determined-and-controlled factors to 'internal factors' for motivation of the employees. In other words, henceforth, managements found it less difficult to comprehend why certain employees or workgroups were not willing to or did not put forth their best efforts, despite attractive wages.

For the next two decades or so, the human relationists almost dominated the thinking of management leaders. Before long, however, the Hawthorne studies and its various viewpoints came under attack by researchers. Studies began to show that a relatively happy or satisfied employee or workgroup need not necessarily be a productive employee. Moretimer R. Feinberg, for example, concluded that even though high morale was a positive factor in employee motivation, but a 'happy worker' was not necessarily the 'most productive worker'.[24]

While the researches and the management's search for the key to the understanding of job-attitudes of their employees continued, a refreshingly interesting framework for their understanding was provided by Abraham Maslow, a theoretical psychologist in 1954.[25] Maslow reasoned that man was a bundle of 'needs' and that these needs seemed to be arranged in a hierarchy or a five-rung ladder :

Self-Actualization		needs
Self-Esteem		needs
Social		needs
Safety-Security		needs
Physiological		needs

At the bottom were the 'physiological' needs (for food, shelter, clothing, etc.); next, the 'safety' needs (for assurance against danger, threat, deprivation and other related fears); then, the 'social' needs (for social belongingness or acceptance by the fellow-beings); in the fourth category were the

'self-esteem' needs (for recognition, appreciation); and, finally, at the apex of the ladder were the 'self-actualization' needs (for expressing one's personality or becoming what one is capable of becoming).

It was Maslow's contention that, first, the lower order need has to be satisfied before the next one in the hierarchy appears. He also argued that once a particular need was fulfilled, it ceased to be a motivator and was replaced by the successive need. Thus, for example, the need for 'social belongingness' for a 'temporary' employee in a work situation will not be motivated until his need for 'security of job' is fulfilled.

Despite the limitations of Maslow's theory, which he himself acknowledged years later, it does hold out an 'intuitive appeal' for managers and administrators, for the "implications of his theory for the design of incentive systems by management are obvious. The optimal job environment for a given employee would be the one which corresponded most closely to his position on the need-hierarchy.[26] The theory opened, even though tentatively, managers' minds to the possibilities for finding new ways of monitoring the job-attitudes of their subordinates.

But, what marked the beginning of a new trend, so far as the 'job-attitudes' of employees were concerned, was a study (1959) conducted by Herzberg and his associates in Pittsburgh. The primary objective of these psychologists was to discover those factors that affect a worker's attitudes or feelings towards his job. While reviewing the past literature[27] on workers' attitudes towards their jobs, Herzberg and his associates noticed that when the investigators questioned workers what they 'liked about their jobs', they received one kind of answer, and when they asked what they 'didn't like about their jobs', the answer received was of a different kind. This suggested to them that there could be a difference between the factors which brought 'good feelings' about a job and those which gave them 'bad feelings'. With this idea in mind, they began to study the job-attitudes of 200 engineers and accountants in nine organisations in and around Pittsburgh by asking a simple question : what kind of things on the job made them 'unhappy or dissatisfied' and what kind of things made them 'happy or satisfied'. On the basis of the analy-

sis of the vast amount of data they were able to collect, they came to the conclusion that there were two different sets of factors which affected the job-attitudes of these engineers and accountants and these appeared to have markedly different affects on their : (*a*) behaviour, and (*b*) motivation.

The two sets of factors which 'dissatisfied' or 'satisfied' the respondents are :

(A)	(B)
Job-dissatisfying factors/ Hygiene* Factors	**Job-satisfying factors/ Motivators**
Organisational policy and administration (unfair, wasteful, duplication of efforts, struggle for power, etc.)	*Achievement* (done something, in which one could take pride)
Technical supervision (technical competence of boss)	*Recognition* (a pat on the back)
Salary	*The work itself* (challenging, interesting, not dull but varied)
Interpersonal supervision (personal relationship, ability to get along)	*Responsibility* (when one could do something without supervision)
Working conditions (poor facilities, amount of work, long distance between home and work-place)	*Advancement* (promotion, etc.)

The factors that make for 'job dissatisfaction', Herzberg pointed out, are the conditions that surround the 'doing of job' (job environment) and the factors that make for 'job-satisfaction' were those that are derived from the 'job itself' (job context). The two sets of factors were distinct and separate from each other and were not to be confused as opposite

*The term 'hygiene' as used by Herzberg, has reference to its meaning in medicine, *i.e.*, 'preventive and environmental'.

ends of a single range of factors. For example, when the job-dissatisfying or hygiene factors (salary, working conditions, policies, etc.) got worse, job-dissatisfaction followed and the performance of employees suffered. But, at the same time, any improvement in these factors did not lead to increased job-satisfaction, either. Similarly, the other five factors which he categorized as 'motivators' would have to be consciously built into the organisational system if the employees were to be motivated to achievement and self-actualization; the absence of 'job-dissatisfying' factors in a work situation did not automatically produce motivation.

To explain the difference between the two 'separate' and 'distinct' set of factors. Herzberg makes use of an analogy. He says : "Let us characterize job satisfaction as 'vision' and job dissatisfaction as 'hearing'. It is readily seen that we are talking about two separate dimensions, since the stimulus for vision is light, and increasing and decreasing light will have no effect on man's hearing. The stimulus for audition is sound and, in a similar fashion, increasing or decreasing loudness will have no effect on vision".[28]

He also uses the biblical terminology 'Adam and Abraham' to drive the point home : 'Adam' representing the 'animal needs' and 'Abraham' the 'human needs'.

Herzberg says that, generally speaking, managements tended to emphasize only the 'hygiene factors' and ignored the 'motivators'.

The research carried out by Herzberg and his associates can be said to have truly broken new ground. In the words of Van Dersal :

This was a new idea at the time. Until this study was made, the generally accepted notion was that any factor that affected people operated in a straight line. Thus, if poor working conditions caused people to become dissatisfied with their jobs, the presumption was that improved working conditions would cause people to become satisfied. But, the study does not show this to be true. All one can say is that if working conditions are improved, people's dissatisfactions may disappear, but we still

do not get much in the way of satisfaction with the job. Likewise, if the satisfying factors of achievement and 'recognition' operate to make people feel good about their work, the lack of these factors does not (*i.e.*, did not) lead to dissatisfaction. We can summarize this by saying that satisfying factors affect job-attitudes mostly in a positive way, while dissatisfying factors affect job-attitudes mostly in a negative way.[29]

'Job attitudes', 'job satisfaction', 'motivation', 'morale'— are some of the themes which have continued to command the attention of researchers since then. A whole lot of studies, some testing Herzberg's theory, and some testing others, have been made and the literature today is replete with findings of these studies. The wealth of information available is, indeed, so overwhelming that sometimes one gets the feeling of being lost in a sea of knowledge, offering conflicting explanations for organisational behaviour (Edwin Locke has counted as many as 3,300 studies on the subject of 'job satisfaction' alone). However, running through them all is the crucial problem : What is that golden mean of the 'psychological' and 'organisational' factors which, by satisfying human needs/ motives would unlock the complexity and diversity of the employees' job-attitudes and bring about the necessary commitment on their part whereby they would not only be able to attain the goals of their organisation but also their own needs and satisfactions.

Industrial engineers, social scientists and behaviourists have all been emphasizing the importance of employees 'commitment of their organisations' goals and policies.

Wilbert E. Moore for instance, suggests that a committed employee is important to the organisation because he, first of all, requires less supervision and performs better than an uncommitted employee and, second, he behaves more predictably in crisis situation and other situations requiring individual decision-making.[30]

Edgar H. Schein, however, theorizes that the "problem is complex and can better be conceptualized in terms of a psychological contract entered into by both the individual and the organization."

Explaining what he means by 'psychological contract', he writes :

> The notion of a psychological contract implies that the individual has a variety of expectations of the organisation and that the organisation has a variety of expectations of him. These expectations not only cover how much work is to be performed for how much pay but also involve the whole pattern of rights, privileges and obligations between worker and organisation. . . Expectations such as these are not written into any formal agreement between employee and organisation, yet they operate powerfully as determinants of behaviour.[31]

Elaborating further the dynamics of this 'psychological agreement' between the two parties, Schein argues that while the organisation seeks to implement it through the concept of 'authority', the employee tries to implement it through his 'perceptions'—perceptions of the whole pattern of organisational climate, salary, promotional opportunities, leadership styles, etc. Since this agreement, like that of an 'appointment order' or service conditions, is not a written document and because it continues to evolve as time passes, neither of the two parties can really know as to how the other is perceiving the agreement. The result is a sort of an endless 'psychological tug of war' and this gives rise to, on the part of the employees, their 'job attitudes'. If the perceptions are favourable, *i.e.*, the organization is able to meet with employees' expectations, the job attitudes would be 'positive', if they are unfavourable, the attitudes could be 'negative'.

Concluding his argument, Schein says :

> Thus, the problem of motivation and organisational incentives or rewards is best thought of as a complex bargaining situation between organization and member, involving the decision of whether to join, the decision of how hard to work and how creative to be, feelings of loyalty and commitment, expectations of being taken care of and finding a sense of identity through one's organizational role, and a host of other decisions, feelings and expectations.[32]

When the psychological distance widens between the perceptions an employee has of his rights/privileges and the obligations of the organisation towards him, on the one hand, and the perceptions of the organization of its own rights/privileges and the obligations of the employee toward it, the scale of 'commitment' on the part of the employee can descend from 'intense willingness' through 'neutral' to 'zero-willingness' to 'opposition' to 'hatred'.[33]

The conflict between the employee and the organisation is viewed by Chris Argyris from yet another perspective. Finding most organisations as authoritarian in both 'structure' and 'behaviour',—modelled as they are on the classical prescriptions—Argyris argues that organisational life prevents today's 'mature' employees from becoming what they are capable of becoming ; instead they are forced into dependency, submissiveness, subordination and other indications of psychological immaturity.[34] Indeed, like Rousseau's 'natural man', if we may say so, he finds the 'organizational man' in chains all over. Exploring this dilemma, *i.e* , "human needs versus organizational requirements", he says, . . . "it appears that formal organisations are willing to pay high wages and provide adequate seniority if mature adults will, for eight hours a day, behave like children. It is obvious that such behaviour is incompatible with the human need to develop and 'grow up'...[35]

But, one of the most prominent behavioural scientist who not only far more seriously questioned the assumptions* underlying the classical prescriptions but also paved the way for understanding and development of proper job-attitudes on the part of the employee was the late Douglas McGregor. One such assumption he offered as an example of classical prescriptions was, "The average human being dislikes work and will avoid it if he can and therefore most people must be coerced, controlled, directed, threatened with punishment to get them to put forth adequate effort toward the achievement of organizational objectives."[36]

* By 'assumptions' he meant the beliefs or promises on which human behaviour is based, for he makes it clear that Theory X and Theory Y are not managerial strategies but only underlying beliefs about the nature of man that influence managers to adopt one strategy rather than other.

This assumption, however, might have fitted the behaviour of people in the early industrial organisation when average worker was unskilled, illiterate, his working conditions poor, and his attitudes negative. But, said McGregor, today we live in a different world—a world which "only faintly resembles" even that of a half century ago. The mature, better-educated members of today's organisation signal a new kind of workforce and therefore the assumptions that underlie the classical approach "are at best only partially true", he said. Besides, there are compulsions of technological changes outpacing human aspects in the modern organisation. As he put it : "In the military, for example, it is becoming increasingly difficult to manage a weapon team in the field as a typical infantry unit was managed a couple of decades back. Such a team requires a high degree of autonomy".[37] Unfortunately, in his view, we still continued to cling to these erroneous assumptions about human behaviour, derived from inappropriate private models and unrelated to the modern political, social, economical, and technological milieu. He, therefore, warned that if the managements stuck to policies and practices that were influenced by these assumptions, "they will fail to discover, let alone utilize, the potentialities of the average human being".[38] Suggesting the name 'Theory X' for such assumptions, McGregor built his own case around :

> The findings which are beginning to emerge from the social sciences challenge this whole set of beliefs about man and human nature about the task of management . . . The social scientist does not deny that human behaviour in industrial organization today is approximately what management perceives it to be. He has, in fact, observed it, and studied it fairly extensively. But, he is pretty sure that this behaviour is not a consequence of man's inherent nature. It is a consequence rather of the nature of industrial organisation, of management, policy and practices. The conventional approach to Theory X is based on mistaken notions of what is cause and what is effect.[39]

Borrowing from these findings of several social and behavioural scientists, such as, Abraham Maslow, William F., Whyte, F.J. Roethlisberger, Robert Dubin, Frederick Herzberg, Georges Friedmann, A.K. Rice and others, McGregor set them into a totally new framework and offered a new theory of management, he called 'Theory Y'. However, making Maslow's 'hierarchy of human needs' a central feature of his theory he went on to present a sharply-contrasting set of assumptions about human behaviour which, he argued, could be applied within the modern workplace. His assumptions :

> The expenditure of effort in work was as natural as play or rest; 'self-direction' by people who are committed to an objective can be an alternative to 'external control and the threat of punishment' ; people learn, under proper conditions, to accept and seek responsibility; under the conditions of modern industrial life, the intellectual potentialities of the average human being are only partially used.[40]

When one notes McGregor's words under proper conditions by which he meant the 'job environment' or the managerial policies and practices which materially affect employees' commitment—it becomes apparent that what he was emphasizing was the 'agricultural' approach[41] which in Peter Townsend's words meant :

> Provide the climate and proper nourishment and let people grow themselves.[42]

The US Council for Financial Aid to Education Inc. tries to propagate a similar viewpoint through its occasional advertisement :

> If you don't nourish them, nothing will grow . . . The fruit of human body is the mind. If it is left uncultivated, its contributions wither. Its mechanism falters. And something, somewhere dies . . .

The essential task, thus, of management, according to McGregor, is to arrange organisational conditions and methods of operation in such a manner that the employees can achieve ·

their own goals best by directing their efforts towards organisational objectives.

Another way of looking at the employee motivation has been popularised by Vroom. According to his Expectancy Theory,[43] an employee would put forth effort only if three conditions are present : (1) He must see that a relationship exists between amount of effort, and his performance, (2) he must see a relationship between his performance and the benefits/rewards, (3) he must see the benefits/rewards as attractive. Vroom argues that employee's effort is more likely to occur when these three conditions prevail.

The writings of Karl Marx, bearing on 'mans' alienation from work' even though overlooked by the behavioural scientists in the West, are also illustrative, in a way, of the ideas of men like Maslow, Argyris,[44] McGregor, Benis,[45] Likert[46] and others. In certain respects, Marx can even be said to be ahead of time. For example, long before Maslow propounded his theory of 'hierarchy of human needs', Marx had stated, ". . . the first premises of all human existence and, therefore, of all history is the premise namely that men must be in a position to live, in order to be able to 'make history'. But life involves before everything else eating and drinking, housing, clothing and various other things . . ."[47]

Perhaps what distinguished him from the contemporary behavioural scientists was the fact that while the latter seem to take a rather 'narrow' and 'micro' view of the attitudes of the employees and of the 'organisation' they are parts of (despite the widespread acceptance in the West today of the system's approach* to the study and analysis of organisations and the human behaviour within them), Marx took a 'total' view, for his sweep was all-encompassing and his mission was larger. In his view "The forms or conditions of production are the fundamental determinant of social structures which in turn breed attitudes, actions, and civilizations."[48]

*See L. Berthalanffy, *General Systems Theory*, Penguin, Harmondworth, 1968; F.E. Emergy and E.L. Trist, "The causal texture of organizational environments" in F.E. Emergy (ed.) *Systems Thinking*. Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1969; The perspective has been more fully developed in the work of Daniel Katz and Robert L. Kahn, "The Social Psychology of Organisations," Wiley & Sons, Inc., New York, 1966.

As if in a belated recognition of the significance and influence of Marxian thought in motivating people, an article published in *California Management Review,* in its issue dated Winter 1976, provides a stimulating array of similarities between concepts of 'Theory Y' and the managerial practices in the People's Republic of China, one of the foremost communist nations organized on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles. The writer noted :

Before 1949, the socio-cultural values of China reflected a hierarchy of needs rather different from the one believed by Theory Y proponents to motivate the individual. The satisfaction of lower-level needs, such as, food, shelter, and security, was the main objective in the lives of the masses. For those whose basic physical needs were satisfied, however, the higher-level needs for recognition and self-actualization through achievement did not operate as motivators because society did not value them and her structure did not permit their expression. Recognition was not a response to be earned but was predetermined by one's class and social status. Achievement was not a pursuit generally valued by society and so was not often sought. The accumulation of wealth was pursued for the purpose of conspicuous consumption rather than for the purpose of capital investment in achievement ventures.

Under Communist control, however, the structure of need-hierarchy underwent a radical transformation. Through rapid and widespread development of the economy, the physical and security needs of the masses approached a higher level of satisfaction than China had ever known before. These basic needs ceased to preoccupy the average man to the degree they once did. Then, through intensive education and indoctrination among all age groups, facilitated by a common system of communication and language, new ideas and values concerning the earning of recognition and the realization of human potential through achievement was instilled in the masses. Finally, through the restructuring of organizational life throughout Chinese society, new avenues were opened for the expression and

satisfaction of higher-level needs among the masses. In this way, China has become a nation with motivational patterns closely resembling those suggested by proponents of Theory Y.[49]

It may be noted, however, that the behavioural sciences education of the Western type is totally absent in China. Human motivation and behaviour is viewed there primarily as part of ideology.

Robert Owen (1771-1858), a pioneering 'personnel manager or the 'utopian socialist'—as some historians remember him—was also on the same wavelength as the contemporary behavioural scientists—even though he pre-dated them by over a hundred years. Owen was no communist but was an "exponent of the high-wage theory and took a paternalistic interest in the welfare of his employees." Like Herzberg and McGregor, he, too, was concerned with the 'environment' of job/work. He believed that 'man's character was made *for* him, not *by* him.[50]

What is noteworthy about Owen is that he never had to use any of the current 'motivation theories' to secure the co-operation and loyalty of his men. The secret of his success was that he was able to identify the underlying 'needs' of human behaviour in those days, turn these needs into favourable job-attitudes by satisfying them, and, finally, tune those attitudes to the goals of management.

Parallel to the growth of this fundamental knowledge about human behaviour, research done in the west has also revealed : that the majority of employees utilize only 25 per cent of their capabilities on jobs,[51] and that the majority of employees have both the 'need' and the 'ability' to make greater contributions to the effectiveness of their organizations than they are generally required or allowed to do.[52] And, that the need to contribute and make better use of their abilities was the 'least satisfied' need—is yet another major finding of a study done there.[53] Researchers have also discovered that challenging job-environment can be created by letting employees participate in decision making and to exercise self-direction and self-control.[54]

It is nearly three decades now that behavioural sciences entered the realms of management in the West. During these years, though a large number of researchers have focused considerable attention on human behaviour in organizations but the field is largely dominated by about half a dozen American behavioural scientists and their ideas. If the findings of these pre-eminent behavioural scientists as well as of the few on the other side of the Atlantic can be reduced to a general hypothesis in the Western context, it should read as follows :

In the West, because of affluence, organizations have been able to provide, by and large, the 'lower-level' needs of the employees. Work-attitudes have already changed. Money is not in itself enough to motivate people. Today's educated and skilled people have the ability to think, to come up with new ideas and to take initiative. If managements want to motivate these men, they must try to provide the necessary environment for satisfaction of 'higher-level needs', *e.g.*, participation in decision-making, recognition, self-esteem, autonomy, growth, etc.

Even though every progressive organisation there is out to search for the right motivational key for their own members, there is sufficient evidence to show (from the endless articles that fill the western journals) that a majority of them are greatly interested in the widest use of modern management tools. For example, there is an increasing interest in human resource development programme. More and more organisations are using 'O.D.' techniques. Employees are being allowed greater flexibility to shape up their working-hours ('Flex-time' in the US or 'Gliding-time' in West Germany). Targets are set mutually by management and employees and, then, the latter are given freedom to use whatever time and methods they want to use (Mbo). Researchers are also reporting favourable response from employees to innovations, such as, job-enrichment and job-enlargement. Where jobs have become highly specialised and fragmented, as a result of technological advancement, and the conditions have led to employees' alienation towards work/job,

rotation-programmes requiring employees to undertake a number of different tasks are being introduced so that they are not only more satisfied with their jobs but are also able, as far as possible, to use their full potential.

The weight of this 'hypothesis' that the younger employees are placing greater emphasis on 'psychological factors' was also borne but by a major study undertaken by the US Chamber of Commerce many years back.[55] A 'dual survey', covering both 'managements', and 'employees' it sought to identify the job-factors that keep 'employees morale high. While managements' perception of the employees' priorities was : (1) good pay, (2) job security, and (3) promotion and growth, the employees ranking of their first three priorities were : (1) full appreciation of work performed, (2) feeling 'in' on things, and (3) sympathetic help on personal problems. 'Job security' and good pay were listed as number (4) and (5).

The 'job attitudes' of employees have become the focus of intensified concentration by sociologists even in the communist world, say, in the Soviet Union. The researchers there also appear to be interested in asking the same question : Why do people like or dislike their jobs? The scale of preferences, when investigated, and indicated by the workers in quite a few industrial organisations there was as follows : (1) meaningfulness and opportunity for displaying creative endeavour, (2) opportunities for making a career and raising one's qualifications, and (3) pay. Money, thus, has slipped to third place.[56]

It is not the intention to refer here to the large number of studies that reinforce the above conclusion, so far as the developed world is concerned. A brief description of the literature, attempted so far, should suffice to provide the Indian administrator/manager with some useful clues to the way the organisations there are becoming more humanistic and democratic so as to achieve the organisation's stated objectives as well as to meet the needs of those who are its members.

the job-attitudes of the employees and, consequently, their commitment to organisational goals is the one set forth by Frederick Herzberg of the two-factor motivation-theory-fame[57] (despite the methodological criticims and limitations), it can be reasonably stated that, what to speak of any corrective action on the basic causes of employees' apathy or indifference, managements in India, generally speaking, do not even appear to be familiar with the knowledge the 20th century has made available in diagonising human behaviour in organisations.[58] While in the West the managements had so far emphasized the hygiene factors or maintenance needs of the employees and were only now beginning to care for their psychological or higher-level needs, here in India the management, particularly in government, have yet to start emphasizing even the 'hygiene factors'. Indeed, the bitter truth is that most people occupying managerial positions do not seem to take cognizance of these 'needs', much less understand the subtle and fundamental differences between the two, and their significance in tuning the work-force to their workload.[59] Iannone suggests :

> Too often people in management rise to high positions with little knowledge of the psychological factors that interfere with the productivity of their personnel.[60]

The landscape in government largely resembles the one in the old colonial days when the bureaucracy was, basically, involved in non-developmental tasks and the assumptions underlying the Weberian model fitted the situation fairly well. Take, for example, 'personnel management', just one segment of management in government. This 'function' in government still lives in its past. Generally speaking, it is not only known by the name the British gave it—the 'Establishment Division', it continues to be mechanistic in its outlook—concerned largely with record-keeping activities, such as, history of an employee with the organisation, an account of his pay, promotion/transfer/dismissal/retirement, and sick/earned leave, etc. It is not concerned with the 'morale' of the staff, nor in finding out whether or not the requisite level of motivation exists amongst them for goal-achievement, and if that level

does not exist, what could be the possible reasons and what should be done to remedy the situation, etc. There are standardised proformas for measuring the performances of the employees, irrespective of the different kinds of tasks they are engaged in. No job descriptions, no clear-cut understanding of organisational goals. Typically, in accordance with the civil service traditions, bulk of organisational energies are spent in moving notes/papers/files (or drafts for scrutiny of the superior/s) up and down the hierarchical pyramid. The climate is such that there is hardly any opportunity to show initiative or demonstrate one's ability or talent. Favourable annual confidential reports are reported to be given (they greatly help in promotion) to those who spend organisational time and other resources feeding or bolstering the ego of their bosses.[61]

The way the office records are maintained seem to suggest that they are maintained just for the sake of 'maintenance', not for any analysis for better decision-making. Forms, rules, regulations, procedures and even Acts which would have outlived their utility long back continue to be adhered to, and no one wants to stand up and ask the question : Are they valid today or have become out-dated ? Take the Motor Vehicles Act which was adopted in the year 1939 when Delhi was nothing more than an overgrown village, its roads were mostly filled with tongas, bullock-carts, and a numbered few motor-cars ('vintage' would perhaps be the better description), and things, such as, electric traffic control signals, pedestrian islands, zebra-crossings were non-existent. Yet, the same Act, with occasional modifications (perhaps dictated more by expediency than by objective analysis of the traffic conditions) continues to be applied to the complex traffic problems of the 1980s — made too complex by injection into the picture the speed and volume of over 5 lakhs motorised vehicles, ten lakh bicycles, and a variety of thousands of slow-moving hand or animal-driven vehicles, causing traffic congestions and great concern to the community (700 persons died on Delhi roads as against 175 murders last year). It was perhaps this rapidity of change in today's environment which prompted Peter Drucker once to say : An organisation which does not take a fresh look at its rules/

regulations and procedures, etc., every few years or so runs the risk of being left behind in the present-day world.

Apart from the failure of the management to keep pace with the modern management thought and practice, and the old, creaking structure of organisation, the picture in government is further confounded by the paucity of empirical studies of management and management problems. Relatively, little research has been done in India, as a whole, on subjects relating to organisation and administration. A survey of research in management in India, carried out under the auspices of the Indian Council of Social Science Research, cited only 85 studies (empirical and non-empirical) which focused their attention on the various aspects of motivation, such as, incentives, morale, commitment, etc. Of these, about 30 concentrated specifically on 'employee attitudes'. But, the seriousness of the problems does not end here, for, as Baldev R. Sharma pointed out : "In general, most of the researchers have focused their attention on job-satisfaction of industrial workers[62] and the job-satisfaction of white-collar workers, supervisors and managers have been matters of concern only by a few of them. The few studies reported by the survey, have shown that, generally speaking, the Indian worker desires :

1. steady job,
2. an adequate income, and
3. an opportunity for learning a new trade that will improve his chances of promotion.[63]

Seen in the light of Herzberg's theory, these three factors can clearly be lumped into the category, called 'hygiene factors'.

If research on 'employees attitudes' has been scarce in the private business world, it has been scarcer in the government system, and within it when one looks at the police organization and management, the number of empirical studies in the field, as a whole, is pitifully small. Of course, there is a spate of literature[64] on police and its functioning in India in the form of books, articles, public documents and half a dozen doctoral thesis encompassing diverse problems of police but

only a few are empirical investigations and virtually none specifically touches upon the 'job-attitudes' of the police personnel. As noted in a study conducted by the Institute of Criminology and Forensic Science :

> Rehash of research work in the police administration in India, both in historical and practical perspective in relation to community, and prevention and control of crime has been attempted in a number of books ... A discerning reader may find exciting material in these publications, and may also have a peep into the ways in which the police emerged as a force in the ancient, medieval, British, and independent India, and its adaptability to changing situations. .. What strikes as a lacuna is the total absence of any systematic exploration or evaluation of reactions of the police officers of different ranks, their grievances, their complaints, and their attitudes towards their own job and the community.[65]

There are a few treatments of the subject, 'employees attitudes', brought out by the S. V. P. National Policy Academy at Hyderabad but they are only in the form of 'syndicate reports' prepared by the IPS trainees as part of their training programmes.[66] An empirical study that looked at the grievances of the police personnel (inspectors down to the constables) and came close to the subject, concluded :

> Most of the grievances concerned pay, working conditions, health and medical facilities, housing, transport, recreational facilities and, above all, psychological needs, such as, recognition, appreciation, etc.[67]

In the report cited above, it can thus, be seen that factors like pay, working conditions, housing, medical aid (material well-being) appear first and take precedence over other needs, such as, recognition, appreciation; in other words, what they are seeking, first of all, is the satiation of their lower level needs.

In a non-affluent environment, as that of India, it would be a safe assumption to make that a majority of employees

work for money and would work harder only if rewarded with money for working harder (of course, also see the relationship clearly between 'hard work' and 'reward'), and that relatively only few people, or few groups of people, would like to seek fulfilment of their higher-order needs, such as, accepting responsibility or challenging work. Perhaps what Alexis de Tocqueville said about the poor economic conditions in England in an essay in 1835 is also applicable to India of today. Tocqueville observed :

> There are two incentives to work, the need to live, and to improve the conditions of life. Experience has proven that a majority of men can be sufficiently motivated only for the first incentive. The second is only effective with a small minority. . . [68]

But, a 'clearer' picture can emerge only after there is a 'total' evaluation. Unfortunately, a major barrier in this direction is that governmental bureaucracy (agencies or administrators) in India are, generally speaking, not research oriented. Barring a few exceptions, most are reluctant to undertake research on their own or engage outside researchers. In addition, there are those at the higher levels "who feel that they know almost everything and that any research is not going to reveal anything new.[69] Research can, after all, be upsetting in many ways. It can throw up unpleasant facts for everyone to see. Besides, if the change comes (as an outcome of research), the trauma of change can be difficult for many people, especially, those who have been operating in a particular setting for a number of years/ decades, have developed 'vested-interests', and whose behaviour-patterns have become almost set or ingrained so as to induce resistance to change. Such reluctance is not, however, peculiar to India, for even in the West, managements in government have always followed the lead provided by the managements in private business. Until the entire governmental system is geared to some powerful monitoring mechanism (say, regular surveys of employees' feelings on organizational policies and practices), the management in government should not fight shy of utilizing or borrowing the experience gained

in the West (governmental or private business), or nearer home, by the private sector in India, in integrating the needs of the employees with the organisational requirements. After all, didn't Lenin, a communist, urge his managers to study Talyor, a non-communist, and adopt all of his ideas that had equal utility value for the Soviet Union but reject those which did not.[70]

CONCLUSION

To sum up, whether we view the situation :

1. in broad historical perspective (the early days of industrial revolution when men like Owen or Marx lived and reflected upon the attitudes of workers, and their causes, or experimented successfully with conversion of 'negative attitudes' into 'positive ones');
2. in recent decades (the empirical and validated researches of the behavioural scientists in America or elsewhere);
3. in terms of the experiences gained through the practical insights of progressive and innovative organisations in Japan, Sweden, England, etc.;
4. through the countless studies done on various aspects of employee motivation (the contradictions and inconsistencies, aside); or
5. in terms of a political-economic framework, such as, capitalistic, communistic, or a mixed economy;

the overwhelming evidence that elegantly comes through is: (a) Man is a bundle of wants/needs, broadly classified as 'physiological/animal' and 'psychological/human', (b) that when he gets into a work-situation, his job-attitudes are affected by several factors, and (c) that the factors which have been persistently cited as major sources of his satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the job appear to be :

Type of job.
Good pay and material benefits
Good working conditions

Security
Respectful treatment
Friendly, helpful bosses
Appreciation
Recognition
Interesting and challenging work
A fair chance to get ahead
Freedom to use one's potential
Full information/workers' participation
Industrial democracy/equal partnership, etc.[71]

These factors may vary in number, in ranking of importance, from individual to individual, situation to situation, organisation to organisation, and culture to culture, but the 'package' is roughly the same. First, the 'material needs', then, the 'psychological'. As one psychologist has put it :

Money is the 'sixth-sense', without it,
you can't enjoy the other five.

If researches done in India so far are any guide, factors, such as, salary, working conditions, broadly referred to as 'maintenance factors' still appear to be the most dominating factors. Until these needs are gratified, there is little chance of getting the 'motivational' or 'psychological' forces released from within: As Warren Bennis very aptly stated.

Can Indian management utilize the new theories of power and motivation (Theory Y) when the Indian worker presumably is low on the need hierarchy ? Before self-control can become relevant, does not man have to satisfy his basic economic, physiological, and safety needs?[72]

However, the question that can still be raised by many Indian administrators, again and again, is : How about those employees in government whose material needs are sufficiently met with, either through salary or the 'extra income' they are able to generate through 'foul means' ? The question is best answered in McGregor's words:

Management often asks, "Why aren't people more productive? We pay good wages, provide good working conditions, have excellent fringe benefits and steady employment. Yet people do not seem to be willing to put forth more than minimum effort.

The fact that management has provided for these physiological and safety needs has shifted the motivational emphasis to the social and perhaps to the egoistic needs. Unless there are opportunities at work to satisfy these higher-level needs, people will be deprived; and their behaviour will reflect this deprivation. Under such circumstances, if management continues to focus its attention on physiological needs, its efforts are bound to be ineffective.[73]

A few words of caution are however in order here lest the Indian administrator is tempted to seek all of his answers or remedies for the negative attitudes of his employees in the theories of Herzberg, Argyris, McGregor or, for that matter, Eric Berne of "Transactional Analysis" fame. Although there is some-to-much plausibility and validity in what all these behavioural scientists say, yet it must be stressed that the narrow perspective taken by them does not contribute to an overall understanding of 'organisation behaviour' in a country like India. First and foremost, there is the fallacy running through the thinking of these theorists that the theories discovered by them would work on nearly everybody and, when applied, all employees would respond to them almost uniformally. Secondly, a closer look at their analysis would show that when they focus their attention on the behaviour of people in organisations, they appear to concentrate only on those attitudes which get generated in reaction to certain organisation-related factors, operating strictly within the confines of the organisation but leave out the impact of many other salient factors on employees' attitudes, notably from the wider societal environment. Herzberg, for instance, refers to factors ranging from 'organisation policies and practices' to 'advancement or promotion' and comes to the conclusion that once the 'dissatisfiers' have been removed and the 'motivators' built in, employees are all set to self-actualize.

Such an approach, apparently, misses or ignores two vital elements : (*a*) the complex relationship between the employing-organisation and the larger society in which it is located,[74] and (*b*) the influence of several societal factors which also govern the behaviour of employees of a sizable number, if not all.

But studying and analysing 'individual' human behaviour in terms of organizational factors, and viewing 'organisations' as entities in isolation from the surrounding 'social system', writers like Herzberg have in a way, committed the same *faux pas* which characterizes the perspective of the conventional organisation theory. Indeed, the approach taken by them seems to be quite in line with the historical legacy of 'individualism' in the West and the 'closed-system' view of organisations which preoccupied both the Classical Theory of Organisations (Taylor, Fayol and Weber) and the neo-Classical Theory (Elton Mayo and others). To take the Classical Theory, first, they viewed organisation merely as an instrument for achieving certain clearly-defined goals. That is to say : If this is the goal, then, this is the 'one best way' (the means) of achieving it. The 'means', in their case, included : specialisation, hierarchy of authority, standardisation, economic rewards, etc. These 'means', they thought, were totally, internal to the organisation and, therefore, could be handled 'internally', irrespective of the 'external environment'. The neo-Classical Theorists later added another means, *i.e.*, the 'non-economic or social rewards' but they, too, failed to rise above the 'closed-system' syndrome.

It is this perspective, narrow and restricted to the 'individual' and the 'individual within the organisation', which makes some of the ideas of these Western behavioural scientists suspect so far as their applicability to 'organisation behaviour' in India is concerned. Take, for example, the job attitudes of some groups of industrial workers in the public sector (let alone the private sector) who are members of the left-wing unions, affilated to and/or controlled by the left-wing national political parties. These employees, owing their allegiance to a particular ideology, question the very power-base of the people who control the privileged managerial positions in government, public sector and the 'classes' they come from. They also

refuse to subscribe to the view that "nationalisation of industries in a capitalist system is synonymous with socialization o the means of production", as, according to them "public sector in our country makes no difference from the private sector as regards the basic law of production. The motive force of production is the same : maximisation of profit, with the same master-servant relationship."[75]

A new approach[76] to the study of organisations and human behaviour within them is slowly taking shape in the West. It "stems from, but is not 'locked into', a Marxist approach to organisations".[77] The burden of its thesis is that the "conventional organizational analysis, for a number of reasons, demonstrates certain deficiencies and inadequacies, stemming in the main from an inability or unwillingness seriously to consider the relationship between internal organisational structure and process and the society within which the organisation occurs."[78] It also views, *inter alia* "organisational structure as a response to the problems, priorities and philosophies of senior organisational members, whose power or authority is backed up by, and based upon, extra-organisational sources and ideologies".[79] The Marxist approach to organisational analysis, thus, shifts the conceptual level of organisations from a narrow to a much broader scope.

It is our contention, therefore, that seen in the light of the perspective outlined above, politically motivated employees are not likely to give their loyalty to organisational goals until they achieve their political goals, no matter how meticulously the management has gone about in designing and providing both the 'hygiene and motivating factors'.

Hence, the motivational system of the employees in India can perhaps best be understood if we think of 'organisational behaviour in India' as the result of the impact of several sets of factors, represented by a series of concentric circles (see Fig. at page 33).

In the inner-most circle are the 'individual and his job'. In the next outward circle are the hygiene factors'. The circle next to that represents 'motivators'. At the outer reaches of these three circles is a band which is the 'interface' between the organisation and the larger society. Finally, in the outer-most circle is the 'total society' with its complex historical,
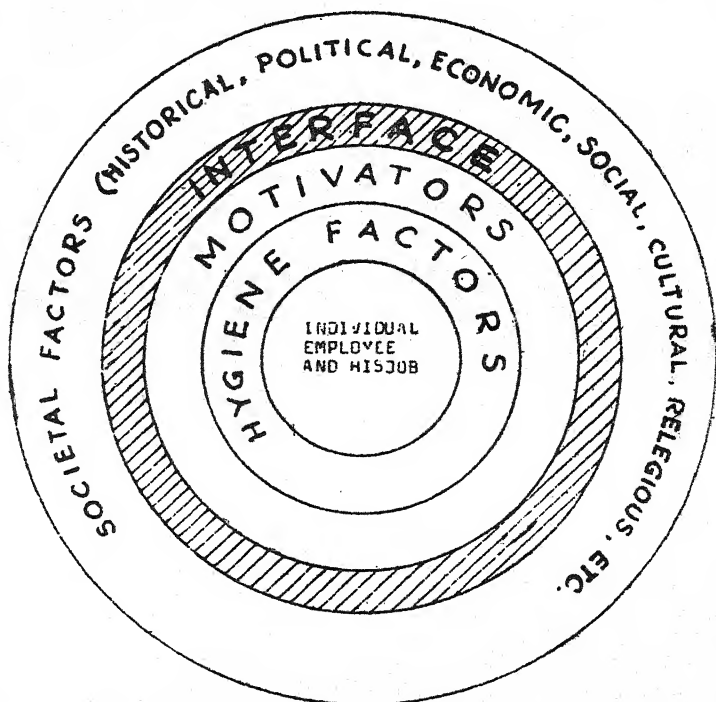
political, economic, social, cultural and religious forces from which the individual employee imports into the employing-organisation many influences that affect his motivation and behaviour.

The paradigm, presented above, thus, divides employees in India in two categories : those who are 'politically motivated', and those 'who are not'. We should like to suggest that while the latter can be motivated to higher productivity if their 'hygiene' and 'motivating' needs are taken care of; in the case of the latter, however, the same simple formula might not work.

The problems of job-attitudes of the work force in India are pressing. Solutions to them can be effective only when researchers and theoreticians, on the one hand, and practitioners, on the other, concentrate on discovering all forces or factors (internal and external) controlling the employees'

attitudes and motivation. But, as far as one can see, the most probable scenario for the near future is that the present stalemate is likely to continue because, first, there is the stupendous problem of management education (can't get the massive governmental bureaucracy into the classroom at one go), and, second, the dearth of trained, and mature researchers. Both are difficult and long-range propositions.

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'Gross error and incompetence in the understanding and use of the scientific method permeate the Hawthorne studies from beginning to end'.

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[58]For instance, Interaction in classroom with the civil servants
who pass through IIPA management training programmes has often
revealed that a majority of them mistake 'motivation' as a 'trait'
built into the human personality—a trait, such as, enthusiams, devo-
tion, commitment, etc. They seem to think that either a person is
'motivated' or he is 'not motivated' and if he belongs to the latter
category, nothing much could be done to change his or her attitude,
except through formal disciplinary measures or exhortation and so on.
It is generally after their exposure to the behavioural science findings
that they begin to see motivation as a reaction to a given environment/
situation, and not as an expression of some in-built personality trait.

The same is true of their perceptions of organizations. Most appear
to view them either as 'rationally-designed instruments for achieving
goals' (Weberian Model), or as a more 'technical and/or economic
entities' (Scientific Management School). Description of organiza-
tions as "social systems", based upon the Hawthorne Experiment data,
is generally received with the response : Yes, we can now see them
better and clearer.

[59]An oft-repeated comment heard during the 'evaluation sessions'
at the end of training programmes is : We can't implement the new
ideas when we get back to our systems because the 'old-timers' at all
levels will reject them as mere theories from the academics. For
instance, the idea of 'letting subordinate-participation in decision-
making' is likely to be opposed because increased participation would
result in diluting (if not totally taking away) the authority of the
superior and, therefore, however validated this idea might be as a
means of stimulating lower employees to higher morale and producti-
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above.

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The character-actor in this melodrama is your immediate or next senior boss. He must be pleased and kept in good humour all these months. Otherwise he might turn into a villain and mar your career by proving you deadwood or a bumpkin.

You have to be very discreet. Not only must you be punctual in office, you have to dispose of the arrears which have accumulated and which need to be arranged monthwise.

In the evening you should take a round of the boss' house to see whether 'Mem-Sahib' requires help in the household chores or junior wants your assistance in solving the arithmetic problems to be submitted next day.

A senior recalls that once he had to wander through the streets of Delhi to find a peddler who sold smuggled goods as he had to buy cosmetics for the fashionable daughter of his boss.

It does not stop here. As a matter of routine you have to apply for festival advance on Diwali to give him sweets cooked in *desi ghee*. If by chance you happen to be away, you must go to his house with a basket full of fruit with a plea that it is from the orchard owned by your brother in Kashmir. Who knows whether you have a brother or not.

Even if you have gone through all these rituals, keep your fingers crossed. For very few people are lucky in getting a literate boss. Think of your plight if he fills the columns in the report with remarks such as "He is a tyreless worker" or "He tries to work hardly" or "He seldom needs to be reminded about the poor standard of noting and drafting these days."

You are really in a dilemma if the reviewing officer in the column for 'integrity' notes : "Wholly integrated" or "He has attended many integrated courses" or "He believes in national integration..."

If you are fortunate enough to escape from the clutches of such an officer, there is a junior officer known as 'Bada Babu'. He maintains your CR dossiers. He must be saluted every morning. And once in a week he should be taken to the canteen and treated to tea, 'burfi' and a 'samosa'. Otherwise he may play the simple trick of putting your hard-earned reports in the dossier of another person of similar name....

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Two PURPOSE AND SCOPE OF RESEARCH

What follows is a morale or job-attitude study. An action research of this kind can play an important role in furnishing management with a feedback on morale and motivation of its employees and, thereby, indicate the state of health of the organisation. Said Kurt Lewin some forty years ago : "Research which produces nothing but books will not suffice."

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

An earlier research study on 'organisational goals' done in 1979* for Delhi traffic police had offered numerous opportunities to the author to interact frequently with the deputy commissioner, traffic police (then designated as 'superintendent of police, traffic police') who is the chief of this unit of Delhi Police. During the course of these discussions, the traffic chief mentioned a number of times that, somehow, the men-below in his unit were not showing interest and enthusiasm in their jobs he expected of them. He once said :

> Whenever I drive through a circle or a zone, I find apathy and tardiness amongst my men. I don't know why can't they be productive ? After all, they are being paid reasonably good salaries and they also enjoy fairly good fringe benefits (motorbike, free petrol, free bus rides, etc.)

It is in that very statement of the traffic police chief that the genesis of this study lies. A couple of discussions ensued and we became interested in making the 'men-below' the

*Raj Nandy, "Understanding Organisations through Perception of Organisational Goals", *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, October-December, 1980, pp. 1076-1088.

focus of a new study for Traffic Police, and, thereby, investigate the reasons behind their reported 'apathy' and 'tardiness'.

Besides, the stimulus also came from the realisation that the ultimate objective of 'research' in the field of public administration is to improve administrative practice. And in this case, the study could perhaps help the management to approach their supervisory tasks on a scientific basis and turn the traffic unit into a better place to work for all of its men.

Work on this study began in November, 1979.

AIMS OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this study was two-fold :

1. to lay bare, as far as possible, the attitudes/feelings/ emotions of these police officers towards their jobs, management policies and practices, and the organisation, as a whole ; and

2. to establish, thereby, a base for a systematic understanding and effective managerial planning and decision-making towards solving the morale problems revealed, within the constraints of the existing organisational structure.

METHOD

The 'men-below' the deputy commissioner of traffic police are six-layered : assistant commissioners (ACs), traffic inspectors (TIs), sub-inspectors (SIs), assistant sub-inspectors (ASIs), head constables, and constables. For the purpose of the study, however, we chose three-layers, beginning with traffic inspectors and ending, down the hierarchy, with assistant sub-inspectors. Our reason for this choice was simple : They, together, represented that segment of the traffic police in the city which not only formed the major operating group and regulated and controlled the movement of traffic on the city roads but also because these are the ones whose devotion to duty, or lack of it, virtually established or demolished the reputation of the traffic police in the eyes of

The data were collected mainly by three methods :

1. Questionnaire method ;
2. Interview method; and
3. Direct personal observation method.

Sample

The sanctioned strength of these intermediate officers in Delhi traffic police at the time of the study was : 160 (18 inspectors (TIs), 94 sub-inspectors and 48 assistant sub-inspectors. Of these, 158 men (18 inspectors, 94 sub-inspectors and 46 assistant sub-inspectors) then formed the actual strength of the unit.

Our original aim was to administer the questionnaire to the entire 'population', that is, all the 158 TIs, SIs, and ASIs. But, doubts set in when a combination of factors, beyond our control, prevented us from doing so. For example : first, the difficulty of notifying all the men in a particular circle in advance and then obtaining their consent to be present at the appointed place, time and day; second, lack of time needed to cover the officers operating in the far-flung rural areas. But, the most important factor was our own assumption that all the officers in each circle could be taken off their jobs for 2-3 hours at a stretch once the day and time had been fixed. Little did we realise that in Delhi which is the capital city of India and where foreign dignitaries or local VIPs moved in, out or about almost all the time, a segment of traffic police is always engaged on duty and, therefore, some of the men could just not be taken off their jobs and expected to participate in the study. Lastly, there were those who happened to be on leave during that period and, could not be included in the study.

The sample was thus randomly drawn from a total identi-fied population and, in all, we could gain accessibility only to 118 officers—18 TIs, 75 SIs and 25 ASIs. Most of these officers were distributed throughout the city circles : a few were placed at the headquarters, handling administrative or road-safety-education work.

Questionnaire

A questionnaire was developed through personal interviews with 15 officers, five from each rank. The questionnaire was pre-tested, revised and then tested again in order to ensure its accuracy. The revision did help provide the necessary guidance for modifying some of the questions included in the first and second draft of the questionnaire.

The questionnaire consisted of two parts : questions (Nos. 1 to 8) which elicited general information about these officers, and questions (Nos. 9 to 46) which related to job-attitudes. There were both open-ended and closed-ended questions. No 'coding' of questions was done.

Administration of Questionnaire—'Suspicion'

The questionnaire was administered to the officers in batches of 15 to 20 at the city offices of the assistant commissioners (who were not present) and at the head-quarters. Each time we met a group, a 5-minute explanation was given. It dealt with : (*a*) the purpose of the study, and (*b*) the matter of anonymity. The group was assured that their names will not appear at any place in the report and that their comments/information written or oral, would simply be added to those offered by their other colleagues and would never be revealed to the higher-ups.

But, 'suspicion' is what greeted us as we entered the hall at the headquarters the first morning and made our explanation. We found ourselves face-to-face with a rather defensive group of officers. They seemed to view us as 'agents' of the deputy commissioner, traffic police, out to 'spy' for him. It was inconceivable to them that we were there merely as researchers who sincerely wanted to study their problems and help put them on the 'table' for management to see and solve them. Many asked us searching questions : "Who asked you to conduct this study ? What is the use of such studies ? Will it really solve our problems ?" "If I offered criticism, are you sure that will not be held against me ?" Others passed comments, such as, "Nothing comes out of these studies. They all gather dust."

It took us well over an hour to explain to them the work our institution (IIPA) was engaged in and how it was helping various governmental organisations in unfolding their administrative problems and thereby improving their effectiveness. We also told them how progressive organisations in the Western countries, including governmental ones, were using such studies for constructive action on problems which the managements at top would not be aware of because of their distance from the men at the lower rungs of the hierarchy. It was only after they felt convinced of the sincerity of our purpose that we could see a sense of belief and relaxation settle on their faces and they began filling the questionnaire.

Sparks of similar distrust hit us at the Tin Murti Division also. But, there were in the group a couple of young officers who spoke better English than many others and appeared to be suave and poised in their mannerism. One of them took up our defence and briefed his colleagues on the virtues of such research and urged them to give vent to their feelings without fear so that the authorities above would know the things that were hurting their subordinates all the time. That has had a very soothing effect and they were, thus, ready to cooperate.

After the questionnaire had been administered to all the subjects of the study and we looked through the 118 filled questionnaires, we found that many respondents had skipped (intentionally—it appeared) sensitive questions like those on 'promotion policy' or the 'leadership style' of their supervisors. We counted and discovered there were 18 of them. Thus, only 85 per cent (100 questionnaires) response was useable.

Interviews

While the questionnaire and the answers it elicited provided the bulk of information in the writing of this report, but 'interviews' were yet another important source of information. These not only supplemented the data collected earlier through the questionnaire method but also provided a peep into the minds of these men and gave us a feel of their emotions and sentiments, particularly of those who spoke with candour.

A total of 25 formal interviews were held, some at the IIPA but most at the circle offices in the city. In order to ensure a representative sample of the different settings in which these officers have to work, quotas were drawn as follows: Five from headquarters (two inspectors, three sub-inspectors), and 20 from the 'field' (3 inspectors and 7 sub-inspectors/assistant sub-inpectors, each from congested areas in old Delhi and from relatively open areas in New Delhi).

Many of them were withdrawn and hesistant in the begning but we found that the 'ice' melted as 'reminiscing' on their part warmed up. Some of them of course were a bit more reserved but as the interview progressed, they seemed to open up. On an average, each interview lasted for an-hour-and-a-half. However, additional sessions were used for a couple of officers because $1\frac{1}{2}$ hour period proved shorter for them.

On the whole, 'younger people' were less reluctant and more spontaneous in answering and discussing the various questions raised than their 'elder colleagues'.

The interview schedule, semi-structured, covered a broad range of job-attitude issues. For example, salary, benefits, working conditions, promotions, supervision and so on.

Direct Personal Observation

A uumber of divisional stations and circle offices in the city were visited and many days spent in getting acquainted, through observations and conversations, with the physical characteristics of those stations/circle offices, and their routine of work. Another purpose was to get a feeling of the social systems, operating out there.

We also attended meetings of *sampark sabhas**, one presided over by an assistant commissioner at a divisional station, and another by the deputy commissioner himself at the headquarters.

How 'free' these intermediate officers felt to talk to their superiors in these *sabhas*—is an issue which should best be left

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*This is the vernacular name for 'meetings' used, among other things, as a medium of promoting mutual understanding and confidence between the management and the employees.

to the results of the study. But, how 'tense' they felt in the presence of their chief was brought home to us when we were observing the *sampark sabha* presided over by the deputy commissioner.

The meeting had just begun. Nearly 70 of these officers were seated in the hall on the 10th floor, motionless and erect in posture. The deputy commissioner had hardly made a few introductory remarks when a message came that there was an urgent telephone call for him. The moment the chief stood up and walked out of the hall, there was a sudden, all-round movement to loose oneself up in the chair. The earlier tenseness was gone and there was in the air a hint of relief from some kind of a 'restraint'. But, no sooner did the chief re-enter the hall than we saw those over three-scores of human bodies briskly dragging themselves back to their previous positions of upright posture and, within seconds, everyone was a picture of attention and concentration.

Every attempt has been made to carefully scrutinise the responses to the questions included in the questionnaire and to those raised during the interviews and distilled from these observations (perceptions or reality) is what can be considered as the essence of the job-attitudes of the majority of these police officers. While it is true that a study of this kind might not yield hundred per cent accurate information on the men's thinking but it can be reasonably hoped that it should throw up significant information which can be used by management—if the management wants to—to advantage in affecting various improvements. If nothing else, the information uncovered here may at least be treated as some guideposts in an area of research, hitherto a 'closed area'. ☐

ORIGIN AND GROWTH

Delhi traffic police is approximately 30 years old. Its birth-year is 1950. It had, to begin with, a very small force and a small structure : one superintendent of police, one deputy superintendent of police, three inspectors, 11 sub-inspectors, 13 assistant sub-inspectors, 31 head constables and 353 constables.

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+-----------------------+
|  S.P. (Traffic) (1)   |
+-----------------------+
            |
+-----------------------+
|   Deputy S.P. (1)     |
+-----------------------+
            |
+-----------------------+
|    Inspectors (3)     |
+-----------------------+
            |
+-----------------------+
|  Sub-Inspectors (11)  |
+-----------------------+
            |
+------------------------------+
|  Asstt. Sub-Inspectors (13)  |
+------------------------------+
            |
+---------------------------+
|   Head Constables (31)    |
+---------------------------+
            |
+-----------------------+
|   Constables (353)    |
+-----------------------+
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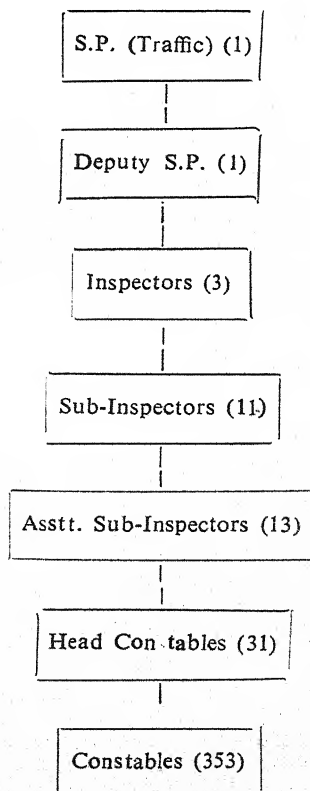
No organisation is static, however. It must change and develop, as influenced by events and/or by the personalities working it ; though, in the case of Delhi traffic police it must be said that while the city population and the variety of traffic on roads grew, the department itself grew rather slowly. As time passed by, large-scale shifts of population, rapid urbanisation, sub-urbanisation and motorisation in the city in the subsequent years* increace in vehicles and population during 1957-1980 led to an ever-increasing traffic on roads and this brought forth many problems for traffic police.

Gradually, it was becoming obvious that the limited traffic police force was not sufficient to meet all the demands

*Increase in vehicles and population during 1957-1980 :

Year	Motor Vehicles on road (in thousands)	Population (in lakhs)
1957	27	22.5
1958	40	23.8
1959	43	25.1
1960	50	26.4
1961	51	27.7
1962	66	29.0
1963	77	33.3
1964	79	31.6
1965	94	33.3
1966	96	33.3
1967	120	36.2
1968	139	37.5
1969	161	39.0
1970	185	41.0
1971	217	43.0
1972	248	45.0
1973	298	46.0
1974	320	48.0
1975	361	49.1
1976	398	50.0
1977	433	51.0
1978	463	56.70
1979	480	57.55
1980	535	60.35

of traffic regulation and control in Delhi. It was not, however, until a serious traffic accident took place in April 1958 claiming the lives of two school-going children and leaving 31 badly injured that 186 more men were added to the traffic department. By the year 1960, it had reached a strength of 856 men, all ranks. From that time onwards, a slow but steady improvement of men has been maintained by the Union Ministry of Home Affairs but, as the Expert Committee noted in its report on traffic police in 1979, these reinforcements "bore little relation to the increase in population as well as in the number of vehicles on roads."*

The table below illustrates the slow growth of the department during the past 20 years :

Year	S.P	Dy. S.P.	Inspcs.	SIs.	A.SIs.	H.Cs.	Constbs.	Total
1960	1	2	3	19	27	81	723	856
1965	1	2	6	29	23	102	748	911
1970	1	3	12	51	29	130	871	1097
1975	1	4	15	56	36	170	877	1159
1980	1	5	18	94	47	215	1225	1605

It was only in the year 1952-53 that automatic traffic lights were introduced in the city on selected intersections. This did bring some relief to the department but did nothing much to reduce its overall responsibilities because the increase in the number of motor vehicles continued to rise and with them also the workload in terms of offences and challans.

The department is much different today in structure, in sophistication in its operations with its closed-circuit TV network, and a new niche in the life of the city by virtue of its growing importance. Indeed, it would be no exaggeration if, in view of the role that traffic police plays in the city life today, it be referred to as a 'public figure' on which the local press turns the full glare of its publicity every now and then. Perhaps the only other unit of Delhi Police which can be said to share such importance is the 'District police'.

*Expert Committee on Traffic Police, 1979, Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India, p. 8.

STRUCTURE

Traffic police is part of Delhi police* which, in turn, is under Delhi Administration. Although the top management of traffic police includes the commissioner of police, Delhi, the additional commissioner of police (security and traffic), and the deputy commissioner (traffic), but the actual head of the organisation is : the deputy commissioner (traffic). The position is always held by a senior IPS Officer. The average time spent by each appointee in the past is 1-3 years.

The headquarters of traffic police are located at the 9th and 10th floors of the MSO Building, Indraprastha Estate, New Delhi, which also houses the Delhi police headquarters.

Goals

All organisations are created around some 'purpose/s' or 'goal/s'. The goals of the Delhi traffic police are aimed at :

1. Ensuring safety of road-users in Delhi against traffic accidents and thereby protect human lives and property;
2. Rendering possible a smooth flow of traffic on the city roads;
3. Helping create a climate of road-safety in the community at large; and
4. Striving for and maintaining an image of friendly, cooperative and incorruptible traffic police force.

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*Delhi police, as a system is a composite whole of many sub-systems or units, like the Delhi armed police, CID (Special), District police, etc. Traffic Police is one of them.

Delhi police is 'generalist' in character. Members of one unit, say, District police are interchangeable with another unit (say, Traffic police) and, again, between one cell within a unit and another cell. The Administrative/Department of Delhi police keeps records of all the men and officers and some of these are getting transferred somewhere all the year round. The underlying philosophy of these transfers seems to be to widen individual experience and the usual practice is to keep the men moving every 4-5 years. Of course there are exceptions to this practice for certain 'functions' within the Delhi police.

Through

(*a*) an efficient traffic management and control system.
(*b*) diligent enforcement of traffic laws.
(*c*) mass education in road safety, particularly of children in schools, and
(*d*) ditizen involvement.

Manpower

The current authorised strength of traffic police in Delhi is about 1,605 men, all ranks (there are a few women police officers as well). When deployment of the total strength in the Union Territory of Delhi is studied, it appears there are about 28 traffic police per lakh population.*

Organisational Precepts, Components of Organisation and Nature of Work

The total work of the organisation is divided, as would be revealed by the description that follows, by 'area' (division, circle, zone), 'time' (fixed working hours and shift duty), and 'people' (road-safety education).

For purposes of organisation of traffic regulation work, the union territory of Delhi is divided, at present, into four line or operational divisions, namely :

1. Central division,
2. Northern division,
3. Southern division, and
4. Western division.

Apart from these four line divisions in the city, there are two other divisions that are located at the headquarters. These are :

1. Administration division, and
2. Road-safety education division.

*Delhi Statistical Handbook, 1980, Bureau of Economic and Statistics, Delhi Administration.

Operational Divisions

Each operational division is headed by an assistant commissioner of police. He is assisted by 4 or 5 inspectors, each in-charge of a circle. A circle has a number of zones, each under a sub-inspector or an assistant sub-inspector who has a small force of head constables and constables at his disposal.

At the day-to-day operating level, each one of these divisions is engaged in two major regular activities :

1. Control and regulation of traffic on roads ; and
2. Prosecution of traffic law offenders.

A 'circle team' which is usually made up of, besides the inspector, sub-inspectors, assistant sub-inspectors, head constables and constables, presents the pitcure of a 'work group' in which all the members play, quite often, similar roles when jams or tie-ups occur, or when accidents of challaning take place. The upper subordinates (a collective title for 'inspectors, sub-inspectors, and assistant sub-inspectors) then do not stand on the notions of their hierarchical status; they, together with the lower subordinates, plunge right into the 'crisis' situation to restore order. This feature of their functioning shows that despite the circle being embedded into the larger system, namely, 'traffic police' which conforms to the pattern of a bureaucratic model*, the circle, as a sub-system, betrays a certain amount of structural 'looseness' about it and can, thus, be termed as a quasi-bureaucracy within the framework of a bureaucratic structure.

But, what is true of interchangeability or similarity of roles in their regular activity listed at No. (1) above, it is certainly not true of the activity at No. (2) because the authority to prosecute or challan a traffic law violater is allocated only to the head constables and those above. A constable can only note down the number of a vehicle on a piece of paper and pass it on to the challaning officers.

A 'typical' work-group at the circle level carries out the two above-said activities regularly between 8 a.m. and 8 p.m.

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*The characteristics of a burcaucratic structure, as developed in the West around the turn of the present century, are : among others, divisions of work, hierarchical, and monolithic (*i.e.*, official power concentrated at the apex of the structure).

every day and tries to manage its own distinctive pattern of traffic rush, congestion at peak hours or otherwise. To give an example, the work-group of the Sadar Bazar circle in the western division consists of 1 inspector, 4 sub-inspectors, 2 assistant sub-inspectors, 10 head constables, and 65 constables. While a constable directs traffic at a street intersection (called 'point duty'), a head constable enforces traffic regulations on foot, a sub-inspector or an assistant sub-inspector patrols his zone on a motorcycle, making sure that traffic rules are obeyed as well as reporting an accident/serious injury or death on road to the nearest police station. The inspector drafts the work-schedule for his men on weekly or monthly basis, oversees that the tasks assigned are performed in an approved manner, and makes a couple of rounds of his area every day to keep in touch with his men and to check on the general traffic conditions in the different parts. Indeed, he constitutes the 'pivotal point' in the entire organisation, receiving information/orders from the higher echelon, passing them on to the men below, and deploying his manpower according to the needs and in proportion to the requisite services.

Broadly, the above description of the Sadar Bazar circle holds true for all other circles in the city (there are as many as 14 of them). The only exception is : the number of men assigned to a particular circle depends, to a large extent, on the variety and intensity of traffic and the size of the area. The same is true of 'divisions' as well.

As the traffic police must be on the roads so long as movement of men and machines needs regulation, the operations of the men in these divisions must be so scheduled as to fit the tides of traffic at different times and different points in their respective areas. For example, there are in the city certain intersections where density of traffic all the day long is heavy and therefore must be manned from 8 a.m. to 8 p.m. (called 'pucca points' in the terminology of the traffic police). The constables are assigned to these locations on four rotating shifts : 8 a.m. to 11 a.m., 11 a.m. to 2 p.m., 2 p.m. to 5 p.m. and 5 p.m. to 8 p.m. If a constable or a head constable is on duty from 8 a.m. to 11 a.m., another constable or head constable will replace him at 11 a.m. All other men follow regular working hours, *i.e.*, 10 a.m. to 5 p.m —at least 'officially'.

The maximum number of people are employed at peak hours, 8 a.m. to 11 a.m. and 5 p.m. to 8 p.m.

Inspectors, generally, have to work longer hours because they are in charge of regulation and control of traffic in a clearly-designed geographical area and also have the overall responsibility for the performance of their work-groups.

Work Flow

The work flow at a circle begins every morning when each member of the circle team, on arrival at the circle station, a few minutes before 8 o'clock, reports to the *chithha munshi*, a constable doing clerical work. He records in the duty-roster (referred to as *roz-namcha* in vernacular) the time of his arrival, the name of the point of his duty and then departs for the pre-assigned point. The *roz-namcha* looks like a large ledger and in its ruled pages are spaces for recording date, time, name, number, point of duty and other relevant information. All members of the circle must, on return from shift duty or otherwise, report to the *chithha munshi* and make the entries in the *roz-namcha* once again. By and large, this is a routine operation and this cycle is repeated as many times as there are shifts. The duty roster is checked and countersigned by the inspector.

The condition of reporting to the *chithha munshi* in the morning, before proceeding to the point-duty, is however relaxed in case of all those constables and head constables who have to travel long distances to reach their points of duty and are allowed to go straight to their respective points. The concerned head constable or the zonal officer performs, in their case, the supervisory duty of checking the physical presence of such constables and reporting that to the *chithha munshi.*

Each day of the week, at 9 a.m. or thereabout, when it is the rush hour all over, the traffic flow is the major preoccupation of traffic police. Every circle in-charge, after he has visited all his men and watched traffic in his area, must report to the headquarters through the wireless network and state the general traffic conditions he has observed. Thus, an inspector usually spends the first hour of his day patrolling his circle and supervising his men. Sometimes, some of them would

stand by particular inter-sections so that they can take charge of the situation if the traffic begins to build up.

It is important that the whereabouts of the zonal officers should be known to the circle in-charge so that the message can be passed to them as and when required. But, the absence of a communication system between the two (the motorbikes of zonal officers are not fitted with wireless and therefore they are not on the wireless network) at times presents problems. If a particular zonal officer is immediately required at the circle station, either the inspector must himself go out on his motorbike to find him or send one of the constables or head constables to do so.

The chain of command in a division, descending from the assistant commissioner level, and the span of control at each level, is as follows :

Assistant commissioner	—	In-charge of a division, with personnel between 120 and 300.
Inspector	—	In-charge of a circle, with personnel between 33 and 100.
Sub-inspector or assistant sub-inspector	—	In-charge of a zone, with personnel between 7 and 35.
Head constable	—	—
Constable	—	—

Internal Transfers

There is almost regular, periodic transfers of all the upper and lower subordinates from one zone or circle to another. For inspectors it is every one year (or thereabout), for zonal officers every 6 to 9 months, and for head constables and constables every six months.

Weekly Parades

Weekly parades are held, once a week, at every operational division when the assistant commissioner meets all his men. Training, instruction and inspection of uniforms, etc., are the main purposes of these weekly parades.

On the whole, these routinised activities of the men in each one of the four operational divisions remain much the same from day to day, week to week, and year to year—though the immediacy of certain traffic tie-ups, like the lightening strike of the drivers of the local transport, or the here-and-now urgency of a religious or political procession do bring variety and complexity to their tasks.

Even though routine in nature, both mentally and physically, but traffic regulation, particularly for the constables, is a painstaking leg, hand and eye work. Besides, all the men in the operational divisions must work under all kinds of climatic conditions—in freezing cold, scorching heat, and blinding rain.

Administration Division

Like the four 'line' divisions, the administration division is also headed by an assistant commissioner of police. He is supported by one inspector, six sub-inspectors, eight assistant sus-inspectors, 15 head constables and 126 constables.

The division is divided into the following branches : The names of the branches and their responsibilities are :

Establishment Branch : Organisation proposals for additional strength, complaints against police officials, punishment appeals, civil writs, preparation of annual administration report, training proposal for traffic personnel, transfers/posting of upper subordinates from one zone to other, pension/premature retirement, cases of mutual benefit fund, purchase and sale of movable/immovable properties, welfare and leave travel concessions.

Character Roll Branch : Pay fixation, annual increments, efficiency bar, good conduct allowance, verification of service, counting of military service towards civil pensions, maintenance of service record of all traffic police personnel, supply of particulars for confirmation and promotion, etc., of upper subordinates, sanction of conveyance allowance, cycle allowance, grant of commendation certificate/rewards and sanctioning of leave.

General Branch : Construction of new buildings, permission of taxi stands, traffic managements, deployment of force for

processions/demonstrations, installation of ceiling fans/ telephones, etc., purchase of furniture, repair of roads, installation of traffic signals, clothing and equipment, permission for pitching of shamianas on roads and general complaints.

Stationery Branch : Local purchase of stationery articles, sanction of bills of government vehicles, allotment of government vehicles, allotment and cancellation of government quarters, sanction of house rent allowance, maintenance and issue of challan books and registers and preparation and issue of identity cards.

Accounts Branch : Transaction of cash money, maintenance of all cash book and records, etc.

S.I. (Personnel) Branch : Promotion, training and transfer of lower subordinates from one zone to another and maintenance of such record, record of casual leave of all upper and lower subordinates, sanction of earned leave to lower subordinates.

Notice/Challan Branch : Follow up legal action on notices about traffic violations received from traffic wardens, gezetted officers of Police department and other officers duly authorised to note down the numbers of defaulting vehicles ; reports of violations recorded at police stations, police complaint booths, etc.

Statistical Section—Enforcement and Accident : Maintenance of records relating to challans in traffic offences and sent to court and their results ; statistical analysis of motor vehicles and accidents involving motor vehicles ; preparation of returns, statements and reports in reply to parliament questions/metropolitan council and other enquiries from various authorities regarding statistics ; issue of no-objection certificate to owners of vehicles for disposal of their vehicle ; preparation of particulars of conviction of pending cases for state transport authority for the purpose of renewing permits.

Computer Cell : Computerisation of statistics relating to commercial motor vehicles/private vehicles and their particulars.

Process Branch : Service of court summons/warrants on violators who failed to appear in the court on due date to pay fines.

Field Staff (Executive) : Traffic control duties for the executive staff for duty at various points in the city, for traffic

arrangements for VIPs/functions/festivals/mobile traffic regulation.

Road Safety Education Division

This division is headed by an officer, designated as 'chief liasion officer'.

As the name of the division itself suggests, its main responsibility is the promotion of traffic safety consciousness amongst members of the public through educational campaigns, film shows, lectures and exhibitions.

A major thrust of the division's efforts is directed at the young school-going children so as to educate the 'next generation' in road-safety. It holds painting competitions on traffic subjects amongst the school children and awards prizes to the best entries. In cooperation with the local school authorities, it also arranges lectures to the students by the members of its staff. Women police officers of the rank of sub-inspectors are to be found only in the road-safety division of the traffic police. They are posted there because it is generally recognised that education of school-children—one of the primary tasks of this division—is best performed by women. The division also makes liberal use of motion pictures which emphasise better safety practices.

The division handles another important assignments ; training of all the men assigned to traffic police by the Delhi police headquarters.

The chief liasion officer is supported in his tasks by one inspector, ten sub-inspectors, two assistant sub-inspectors, four head constables, and 26 constables. Also attached to the division is a professional photographer.

In addition to these responsibilities, the chief liaison officer also deals with the local press and is responsible for publicity for traffic police in all its forms.

Ranks

All officers in traffic police (as in Delhi police, as a whole) at and above the rank of assistant commissioner are called 'gazetted officers'. Those below the assistant commissioner level are referred to as 'non-gazetted officers'. The 'non-gazetted' are further divided into two groups—upper subordinates

(inspectors, sub-inspectors, and assistant sub-inspectors) and lower subordinates (head constables and constables).

All gazetted officers, except the assistant commissioners, belong to the 'Indian Police Service', recruitment to which is made by the central government on the basis of an all-India competitive examination, held annually by the union public service commission.

The assistant commissioner belongs to the Union territory police cadre. Or, he could be an officer who has earned promotion to this rank from within the organisation.

For positions upto inspector's level, there is direct entry at two levels—constable, and sub-inspector. The minimum qualifications for entry into these two levels are : higher secondary and a B.A. degree. Officially, a constable has the opportunity to seek higher promotion to inspector and assistant commissioner level.

Assistant commissioners and all the upper and lower subordinate officers are all members of the Delhi police. They serve in whichever unit they are transferred by the commissioner of police and continue to hold the same rank in their new place of posting. For instance, an inspector is an inspector whether he is incharge of a circle in traffic police or incharge of a *thana* in district police.

Salary Schedule

The current salary scales for the three ranks, under study, are : inspector—Rs. 550-25-750-EB-30-900 ; sub-inspector—Rs. 425-15-530-EB-15-560-20-600; assistant sub-inspector—Rs. 330-8-370-10 400-EB-10-480.

Uniforms

All traffic police officers basically wear the same uniform as that worn by officers in other units of Delhi police—an open necked khaki shirt, khaki trousers, peaked cap (turban for sikh officers) and their normal badges of rank. The two things that distinguish them from officers of other units are : a white belt for all the upper subordinates, and a triangular red badge bearing the words 'Delhi Traffic Police'.

Only the constables and head constables wear a different uniform—a white open-necked shirt, blue trousers and, occasionally, a helmet-style white metal hat.

Hours of Work and Holidays

Generally speaking, traffic police work during the day hours. But, there are different work schedules for the 'head quarters' (indoor) staff and the 'field' (outdoor) staff. Those who are part of the former have fixed hours of duty, *i.e.*, 10 a.m. to 5 p.m. and also observe every Sunday as a weekly-off. Besides, they also get, as is true in case of most government employees in Delhi, all the holidays determined and listed by Delhi Administration every year ; these include all the gazetted holidays and second Saturday of every month. In all, the holidays for them total up to about 84 a year. Of course, a part of the headquarters staff is always retained for duty purposes to perform work of an emergency nature or special events, such as, 26th January Parade, even though, legally, they are holidays.

However, the case of 'field' staff is somewhat different. While the regular Sunday rest-day and other holidays have no fixed place in the lives of those assigned to field duty, there is some variation in the selection of hours of work and weekly relief as well. As explained elsewhere in this chapter, the upper subordinates work—at least 'officially'—for fixed hours, *i.e.*, 10 a.m. to 5 p.m., the lower subordinates work on shift arrangements. The weekly relief day for both the upper and lower subordinates, however, presents some problems for the operational divisions. Not everybody can take the Sunday off. There are certain areas like Chandni Chowk and many others in the north and western divisions which experience traffic congestion not only on week-days but also on Sundays and holidays. The peak hours in their cases occur all the days of the week. For this reason and because of shortage of manpower, therefore, a good number of men in the field can manage only one or two rest days in a month.

Control

Control is concerned with regulating the activities within an organisation so that they are in line with the expectations established in policies, directives and targets. While the principal formal controls are exercised through the assistant commissioners who are responsible for administration and discipline of all the men in the divisions under their command.

the chief of the traffic police usually keeps his fingers on the pulse of his organisation primarily through four ways : (1) wireless network, (2) daily and periodical reports from the operational and other divisions, (3) meetings with his immediate deputies, namely, the assistant commissioners as well as with the upper and lower subordinate officers, and (4) personal visits to the circles.

Communication

The communications for traffic regulation are so vital that any breakdown in service could disrupt not only the departmental functioning but also the city's traffic. Traffic police has its own Control Room located at Teen Murti Lane which maintains contact with all the circles through its wireless network. The network is divided into four circuits and they are located at Old Civil Lines, Patel Nagar, Delhi Cantt., and Defence Colony. The Control Room is at work all the twenty-four hours.

Sampark Sabhas

As in the other units of Delhi police, traffic police management also makes use of this machinery to get closer to its rank and file and the intermediate officials and to hear the problems regarding their welfare and working conditions.

The *sabhas* are organised at two levels : at the headquarters presided over by the traffic chief, and at the divisional level by the assistant commissioners.

Recruitment, Promotion and Appraisal

Recruitment and promotion for all units of Delhi police are centralised and are the responsibility of the administration division of the Delhi police headquarters.

The constable stands at the lowest rung of the hierarchical ladder. Head constables and assitant sub-inspectors are appointed by promotion from the rank of constables. Of course, a constable can go as far as assistant commissioner.

Another direct-entry point is the 'sub-inspector' level. A sub-inspector can also rise to the level of assistant commissioner.

For promotion purposes, there are, at present, six criteria for selection to promotion : (1) annual confidential report (ACR), (2) seniority, (3) commendation certificates/good entries, (4) absence of punishment, (5) distinction in sports, and (6) interview. In numerical terms, the greatest weight is given to the ACR (30 marks), followed by interview (20 marks), seniority (15 marks), commendation certificates (15 marks). absence of punishment (15 marks), and sports (5 marks).

Promotion to the level of sub-inspector is within the authority of a departmental committee, headed by the police commissioner and consisting of his immediate deputies like the additional commissioners and the deputy commissioners. However, promotion from inspector to the assistant commissioner level is the decision of a committee, set up by the union public service commission which consists of representatives of the Union Home Ministry, Delhi Administration, the UPSC, besides the police commissioner.

The performance of a constable/head constable is evaluated by the inspector incharge but those of assistant sub-inspectors and sub-inspectors are reviewed every year by the assistant commissioner who passes his recommendation to the deputy commissioner. The annual confidential reports of the assistant commissioners are written by the deputy commissioner himself.

Meritorious Work and Recognition

Meritorious work in traffic police—as all over in Delhi police—is recognised by the grant of commendation certificates, and cash rewards. These are of three categories. Class I certificates are given by the commissioner of police on the recommendation of the additional commissioner, Class II by the additional commissioner on the recommendation of the deputy commissioner and class III by the deputy commissioner on the recommendation of the assistant commissioner.

External Relationship

With the total objective of 'road-safety' in the union territory split amongst many agencies (regulation and enforcement by police, maintenance of automatic signals and repairs of roads by the municipal corporation, and grant of driving licences

by the transport authority), it is apparent that many coordinating committees amongst these various agencies, each in charge of one portion of road-safety process, should be set up. Traffic police, as one of these agencies, is, thus, involved in the work of the following bodies in the city :

State Transport Authority : deals with allotment of permits to trucks, buses, state carriages, taxis, auto-rickshaws, etc. (presided over by Director, transport, Delhi Administration);

Traffic Coordination Committee : secures and ensures coordination amongst all the local bodies—Public Works Department (PWD), New Delhi Municipal Committee (NDMC), Municipal Corporation, Delhi (MCD), Delhi Development Authority (DDA), Delhi Electric Supply Undertakings (DESU), Town and Country Planning Organisation (TCPO), and traffic police to achieve efficient traffic administration (presided over by Director, Transport, Delhi Administration);

DTC Advisory Committee : sorts out problems concerning old/new routes for buses run by the Delhi Transport Corporation (DTC) (presided over by chairman, DTC) ;

Traffic Advisory Committee : lays down overall policies pertaining to traffic matters (presided over by commissioner of police, Delhi);

Technical Committee of Delhi Development Authority : looks into the details of all engineering/technical issues concerning layout of roads, etc., in the territory (presided over by Chief Planner, Town and Country Planning Organisation);

Working Group on Traffic and Transport : speculates on the scope and nature of traffic in the year 2001 and the steps needed to gear up the administrative machinery (presided over by Commissioner Planning, Delhi Development Authority);

Indian Roads Congress Committee on Road-Safety : studies traffic problems with particular emphasis on road accidents and their legal implications (presided over by an expert on road-safety);

DTC Coordination Committee on Students' Problems: analyses students' needs/problems and recommends corrective actions (presided over by additional commissioner of police, range).

Automobile Association of Upper India : assists traffic police in spreading road-safety consciousness amongst its

members and attempts to obtain their compliance to traffic laws/policies initiated by Traffic Police (deputy commissioner, traffic police, is a member of its Executive Committee).

Closed Circuit TV System

The headquarters is also equipped with closed-circuit TV and public address system for surveillance of traffic on five major traffic-congestion points in the city. With the help of the TV monitors the operator at the control room cannot only keep a close and continuous watch on the traffic movement at all these intersections but can also regulate traffic by controlling traffic signals. Besides, he can also administer warnings to the violators on the roads as well as communicate messages of road-safety to the road-users.

Planning and Decision Making

Traffic control and regulation requires constant planning and alterness, particularly in a city of Delhi's size. For the most part, planning is centralised, though 'consultation' with the concerned divisional heads, individually or collectively, is a regular feature.

Traffic Wardens

A step towards obtaining organised public support for traffic safety in Delhi was taken in 1974 when traffic police established, for the first time in Delhi, the institution of 'traffic warden' the primary purpose of which was to serve as a bridge between the traffic police, on the one hand, and the community, on the other, and to develop an informed public opinion on the need for road-safety in the community at large. The movement did not show significant results in the beginning but with an aggressive leadership in command at the headquarters, there is an impressive evidence of more effective use of this medium of police community relationship. In order to give the movement both clarity and vision, traffic police chalked out, in April, 1979, its objectives in clear-cut terms and also delineated the functions of the wardens. There are today as many as 446 traffic wardens in the city, representing different walks of life. Amongst them are also a few taxi and scooter-rickshaw drivers who have been given this honour for their unblemished record so far as traffic violations are concerned.

Monthly and quarterly meetings are convened where wardens explain the safety efforts they are making in their respective areas, particularly for the school children or operational plans for new projects are presented and discussed by the top management.

Every year the city of Delhi is the scene of special events —be it an international fair/exhibition or independence day elebrations ; these create traffic problems and demand additional manpower. On such occasions, a large number of traffic wardens take time off their normal pursuits in life and lend a helping hand to traffic police in maintaining order on the roads.

Safety Education in Schools

Two other significant developments in recent times have been : constant efforts on the part of traffic police to win recognition for road-safety education in schools and a place for the subject in the school curriculum; and, use of school children for performing traffic regulation duties outside or near their schools. The scheme of student safety scouts has made tremendous strides within a short span of time. Today, there are 25,000 children being trained as safety scouts throughout the union territory.

Organisational Chart

The structure of the total organisation is made clear by the chart on next page.

Police Commissioner

Additional Police Commissioner (Security & Traffic)

Deputy Police Commissioner (Traffic)

C.L.O.	A.C.P. North	A.C.P. South	A.C.P. West	A.C.P. Central	A.C.P. Admn.
	Cs.I.	Cs.I.	Cs.I.	Cs.I.	Inspct.
	Z. Os.	Z.Os.	Z.Os.	Os.	Sr.I./ASI
	H.Cs.	H.Cs.	H.Cs.	H.Cs.	H.Cs.
	Cs.	Cs.	Cs.	Cs.	Cs.

Road Safety Cell   Training Cell   Film Exhibition Cell   Photography Cell
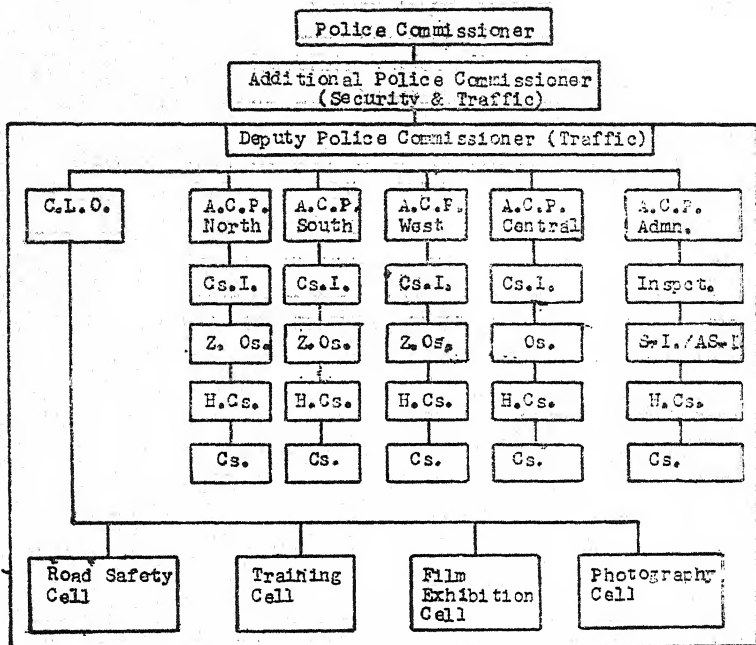
Legend :

C.L.O.   : Chief Liaison Officer
A.C.P.   : Assistant Commissioner of Police
Cs.I.   : Circles-Incharge (Inspectors)
Z.Os.   : Zonal Officers (Sub-Inspectors/Assistant Sub-Inspectors)
H.Cs.   : Head Constables
Cs.   : Constables
SI/ASI : Sub-Inspector/Assistant Sub-Inspector.

Four QUESTIONNAIRE AND INTERVIEWS: THEIR RESULTS

The 'questionnaire' and the 'interview', together, constitute the most important medium through which a study of this kind attempts to solicit the opinions or impressions (favourable or unfavourable) of a workforce with respect to management. This chapter provides a composite view of these very 'impressions'—revealed by the 'statistics', on the one hand, and the 'replies' given by the respondents in the questionnaire and later, during the interviews, on the other. The data is presented on as-the-respondent-speaks basis, with the minimum of the researchers own interpretations.

It is important to note, however, that what this study is really reporting are the 'attitudes', rather than 'objective facts', and therefore, the reader is advised to look at the replies of the respondents as reflections of their attitudes, whether critical or complimentary. At the same time, it is also necessary to emphasise that just because the study throws up only 'attitudes', it does not mean that they are not important because, ultimately, it is these 'attitudes' of the employees—negative or positive—which stimulate or arouse different motivations and, thereby influence their levels of performance or commitment to organisational goals.

The first eight questions sought what might be called as personal and other background information about the subjects. The following variables were tapped, for example, in this connection : present rank, rank at the entry-point, sex, age, education, length of service in Delhi Police, length of service in traffic police, and nature of work in traffic police.

The remaining '38' variables, such as, 'training', 'salary', 'working hours', 'working conditions', 'leadership styles of the superiors'—were studied as an index of their attitudes towards work (negative or positive). For example, if the

majority of them felt that they were not satisfied with their 'salary' or 'working conditions', their replies could be interpreted as reflective of 'job-attitudes' which are 'negative', and their 'morale' as low. Despite the definitional problems about the much-bandied-about term 'morale', there is however general agreement that "it refers to a combination of employee attitudes towards employment. That is to say, morale is a synthesis of how employees think and feel about their jobs, their working conditions, their superiors, their organisation, their fellow workers, their pay and so on. Defined in this way, the term includes both 'individual' and 'group' aspects of morale, *individual morale* being the structure of an employee's attitudes toward employment, whereas *group morale* is the general tone of employee attitudes in the organisation, as a whole, or in a particular office or department".*

SAMPLE

(*i*) Actual strength of three ranks in
    traffic police ...158
(*ii*) Total number of questionnaires
    handed out ...118
(*iii*) Total number of returns ...118
(*iv*) Total number of returns used ...100 [85% of
                                      (*ii*) above]

Question 1 : The sample—by rank

Fifteen inspectors, 60 sub-inspectors and 25 assistant sub-inspectors who constitute the sum total of the sample of this study represent 83, 64, and 54 per cent of the actual strength of these three hierarchical levels in Delhi traffic police (18 inspectors, 94 sub-inspectors and 46 assistant sub-inspectors).

Proportionately, as Table 1 reveals, sub-inspectors are larger in number than their supervisors (inspectors) and supervised (assistant sub-inspectors), but one aspect of the work situation that needs to be noted here is that although

*S. G. Huneryagar and I. L. Heckmann, *Human Relations in Management*, Cincinnati, South Western Publishing Company, 1967, p. 329.

assistant sub-inspectors are hierarchically placed under the sub-inspectors, but for all practical purposes, there is no difference in the type of work the two levels of men do for traffic police. A zonal officer can be either a sub-inspector or an assistant sub-inspector and he is expected to exercise control over the work of head-constables and constables in his zone.

TABLE 1 SAMPLE—BY RANK

Rank	No. of Respondents
Inspector (Insps.)	15
Sub-inspector (SIs)	60
Assistant Sub-Inspector (ASIs)	25

Question 2 : The sample analysis by rank at the time of entry into 'Delhi Police'.

When asked what was their rank at the time of their entry into Delhi Police, it was found that a high proportion (50%) of them joined as 'constables. As illustrated in Table 2, thirty eight per cent started their career with police as sub-inspectors, 10 per cent as assistant sub-inspectors, and 2 per cent as head-constables.

TABLE 2 RANK OF RESPONDENTS AT ENTRY TIME INTO 'DELHI POLICE'

Rank at entry time	Total percentage
Inspectors	—
Sub-Inspectors	38
Assistant Sub-Inspectors	10
Head Constables	2
Constables	50

Question 3 : The sample—by sex

As is apparent from Table 3, only one in every 19 male officers is a 'woman'. Taken the traffic police as a whole,

women sub-inspectors form only 3 per cent of the total strength of the three levels under study.

TABLE 3   SAMPLE–BY SEX

Sex	Percentage
Male	95
Female	5

Question 4:   *The sample—by age*

Table 4 shows that relatively the elderly people (40-50) years and 50 plus) outnumber the younger set (21-30 years and 30-40 years); and thereby predominate the three levels of hierarchy; they account for as much as 58 per cent of the total sample.

From the data, it can, thus, be concluded that the present tendency in traffic police seems to be that 'age' is not an important factor in determining the efficiency of a police officer and that the assumption is that 'older' men can be as active and efficient as 'younger' people.

TABLE 4   SAMPLE—BY AGE

Age group	Rank			Total percentage
	Inspcs.	SIs.	ASIs.	
21-30 years	—	10	—	10
30-40 years	4	25	3	32
40-50 years	10	16	14	40
50 plus	1	9	8	18

Question 5:   *The sample—by formal education*

Table 5 throws light on the educational levels of the respondents   While 13 per cent attended high school but did not stay on to finish it, 26 per cent went on to complete it. Nineteen per cent spent another two years in college to go up to the intermediate level. However, those who picked up their

(40 per cent). Two per cent have to their credit post-graduate degrees, *i.e.*, M.A., with one of them also equipped with a law degree.

TABLE 5   EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND

Educational level	*Total percentage*
Below matric	3
Matriculate	26
Intermediate	19
B.A.	40
M.A.	1
M.A., LL.B.	1

Table 6 gives a rank-wise picture of the academic attainments of the group :

TABLE 6   EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND—RANKWISE

Educational level	Rank		
	Inspcs.	*SIs*	*ASIs.*
Below matric	—	7	6
Matriculate	4	10	12
Intermediate	4	8	7
B.A.	6	34	—
M.A.	1	—	—
M.A., LL.B,	—	1	—
TOTAL PERCENTAGE	15	60	25

The first two groups, namely, those of inspectors and sub-inspectors seem to be fairly well-educated, though the latter (sub inspectors) indicate a modest but definite higher level of education than the former. The third group, *i.e.*, of the assistant sub-inspectors, does not have a single graduate in it.

Of these, one did his B.A. with honours and another had obtained a diploma in French language.

Question 6: The sample—by length of service in 'Delhi Police'.

Table 7 shows that a good number (45 per cent) of the

officers have been in Delhi Police for 20-30 years, followed by another 27 per cent who have worked for 10-20 years. In other words, bulk of them who form part of the intermediate level in traffic police are men of experience (whatever meaning one may ascribe to the word 'experience' in the context of police). On the other hand, those who have had a shorter length of service, *i.e.*, 1-10 years, are comparatively less in number (28 per cent). The data also suggests that there is not a single 'fresher' who arrived in traffic police straight after finishing his post-recruitment initial training in the Police Training School. All have been through one unit or the other before their posting to the traffic police.

TABLE 7 LENGTH OF SERVICE IN 'DELHI POLICE'

| *Length of service* | Rank | | | *Total Percentage* |
	Inspcs.	*SIs.*	*ASIs.*	
Less than 1 year	—	—	—	—
1—10 years	—	28	—	28
10—20 years	—	16	11	27
20—30 years	15	16	14	45

Question 7: *The sample—by length of service in Traffic Police*

The figures in Table 8 make it clear that while 25 of these officers were transferred to traffic police less than a year back, only 12 joined it some two years back. As many as 34 came to it 2-3 years ago. The figures, as we can see, progressively drop in case of those who came to it 3-4 years, or 4-5 years back. The number of officers who have stayed on here for over 5 years is nil. It appears thus that, generally speaking, a majority of men spend about 3 years in traffic police before transferred to some other unit of Delhi Police.

Question 8 : The sample—by nature of work in Traffic Police

As the data in Table 9 show, only a small proportion (8 per cent) of the officers were found to be engaged in 'indoor' (administrative) work. Most of them (85 per cent) fall in the

TABLE 8   LENGTH OF SERVICE IN TRAFFIC POLICE

Length of service	Rank			Total percentage
	Inspcs.	SIs.	ASIs.	
Less than 1 year	—	13	12	25
1—2 years	2	8	2	12
2—3 years	10	20	4	34
3—4 years	2	14	4	2 ¦
4—5 years	1	5	3	9
Other 5 years	—	—	—	—

category of 'outdoor' staff (*i.e.*. control and regulation of traffic out on the roads and streets of the city). Seven per cent of them described themselves as doing both 'indoor' and 'outdoor' work, (such as, 'Road Safety Education' work, as one of the respondents put it).

TABLE 9   TYPE OF WORK OF RESPONDENTS

Nature of Work	Rank			Total Percentage
	Inspcs.	SIs.	ASIs.	
Indoor	3	3	2	8
Outdoor	11	51	23	85
Both	1	6	—	7

Question 9 : Preparation for traffic work—Availing of training facilities by department

As can be seen from Table 10, a larger number of the officers reported 'no induction training given' when they came to work for traffic police. One inspector, when interviewed, said: "I was simply asked to report to my assistant commissioner (ACP). Let alone formal training, even the ACP gave me no briefing. I learnt all about traffic and traffic problems in our area all by myself—through observation and experience." Two sub-inspectors commented : 'We picked up our knowledge of traffic laws through our colleagues, not through training." Many had this to say : "We were told we would be given

training, but, as we continued to report for work and nobody sent us for training we thought nobody seems to care and so forgot about it."

TABLE 10   USE OF TRAINING FACILITIES

Rank	Percentage reporting 'Yes'	Percentage reporting 'No'
Inspcs.	2	13
SIs.	29	31
ASIs.	11	14
TOTAL	42	58

Forty-two of them, however, did undergo training. So, in order to find out as to how did they perceive the quality of training given, they were asked : "If your answer to Question 9 is 'yes', what is your opinion about the training you got ?"

Question 10: Satisfaction—quality of induction training provided by department

Table 11 indicates ratings given to the quality of the departmentally-provided training. Of the 42 officers who received training, only five said it was 'good'. Seventeen found it 'average' and 20 graded it as 'poor'.

When asked to explain what they meant by 'poor' or 'average', as many as 12 inspectors, sub-inspectors and assistant sub-inspectors offered this typical comment : "There is an air of casualness about the whole affair. It appears to be done more in a perfunctory manner, rather than designed to bring about an attitudinal change or to mould a new mentality for a new task."

Others voiced their disappointment as follows : "Some of those who are put on the training job are themselves not sufficiently motivated trainers. They don't have their hearts in the job."

When we sought to make comparison between the data presented by these two questions and our own impressions of the vigour and enthusiasm of the deputy commissioner and the chief liaison officer (CLO) to give 'training' a pride of

TABLE 11 QUALITY OF TRAINING

Response	Rank			Total percentage
	Inspcs.	*SIs.*	*ASIs.*	
Good	1	3	1	12.5
Average	—	10	7	37.5
Poor	1	14	5	50

place in the traffic department, we were somewhat confused. So, we confronted the CLO with this data and it is only when we heard him that we could discern the reality. In the words of CLO:

What to speak of 'training', the entire Unit—the Road Safety Cell—I am in charge of is somehow held in a rather 'low esteem' by hundreds of officers and men within traffic police itself. You will find them all over the place—in the field, in the Lines and at the Headquarters, including my own cell. All of them basically lack a proper appreciation of the significance of all what we here are trying to do—training, exhibitions, road-safety films, painting competitions for children, talks in schools, etc.

Unimportant, useless, total waste of time, energy and effort—this is how they perceive us and our work.

We are even treated something like the 'underdog' by them. But for the solid support and the total commitment of the deputy commissioner to the cause of training—an instrument for changing the behaviour of our men—they would have bundled us out of this place. The 'lecture hall' could have been turned into a store, a sitting place or some such thing.

These intra-departmental barriers are not merely 'psychological' but 'operational' also. They continue to think, react and then perform in negative ways which are often detrimental not only to the success of our immediate tasks but also to the overall corporate goals of the organisation. And, one such example which reflects both of these barriers is the way they at the Teen Murti Lines always

give low priority to our needs for vehicles as and when we have to transport equipment for holding exhibitions, film shows in schools or elsewhere in the city. Suppose a constable/head constable from my cell telephones them at 11 o'clock in the morning to say that we would require one or two vehicles at 4 p.m., the response to the call is invariably unhelpful; if not outright 'no', it would be evasive. The result is I have to fight, at times, mini-battles on the phone to straighten things out at the eleventh hour and this gives rise to unnecessary delays, misunderstandings, quarrels, and frayed tempers. Mind you, some of these vehicles have been purchased out of our own budget provisions and for the use of our cell.

He added :

I know these are the very attitudes which stem from their narrow and unclear view of the high relationship that exists between the goals of this unit (spread of road-safety consciousness in the community and widening the mental horizons of the traffic men) and the total objectives of the traffic police. Indeed, these are the very attitudes we want to change. But, look at our limitations.

The first thing that a new 'arrival' in Traffic is expected to do is to report to the Teen Murti Lines and before we hear of him, he is already in the 'field (or somewhere else). The common perceptions both the 'old' and the 'new' men have of the road safety cell and its activity 'training' reinforce each other and neither of the two parties are serious about training. Of course, sometimes, there are pressures of emergency duties (say, visit by a foreign dignitary) and the new arrivals are swallowed up by the suddeness of the calls and they soon 'disappear' for all practical purposes so far as training is concerned.

Let me also tell you the extraordinary efforts we put in to select the best 'Inspector' available as the man in charge of training, etc., (below me). We try to thoroughly screen the backgrounds of the men in Traffic and through the process of elimination finally restrict our choice to two or three of them. Imagine my horror, when I sounded in-

formally one of these 'two or three' field men about the possibility of being posted to the Road Safety Cell, he said: *Oh, phus gaya* (Oh, I am trapped).

Question 11 : *Assessment of Salary*

How the respondents viewed their emoluments (including fringe benefits, such as, free bus-rides in the city, and free use of the departmental motor-bike and petrol) is obvious from Table 12. Only one-third of them find their current salaries as appropriate ('good' or 'fair'), but the rest consider them 'poor'.

Whether or not the salaries are poor in the objective sense of the term is a question that does not concern us here. What is relevant here is the subjective significance of the replies given. The dominant view of the pay-packet is one of low level—(68).

During the interviews when we asked some of them if in view of the benefits like the facility of a motor-bike and free petrol they were not getting their proper due, the following verbatim reply illustrates the majority answer :

Additional benefits like the motor-bike and free petrol are no doubt welcome. But, it is wrong to think of them as a part of total salary. They are given to us because of the nature of our duties (patrolling) at odd hours of work.

A sub-inspector argued :

I have put in about 6 years' of service and my take-home-pay is in the region of Rs. 800. I live in a rented accommodation and pay Rs. 400 as rent every month. Do you think the balance we are left is sufficient even for bare necessities of life for me and my family.

An inspector said :

We all know the cost of living and the inflationary pressures in a city like Delhi. Although the salaries keep getting higher, but domestic and other commitments which crop up with the same speed and gobble up all those increases, leaving the financial position as precarious as ever.

The comment typical of those who thought of their salaries as 'good' was :

> I think if the salaries and the fringe benefits are taken together they are not as bad as made out sometimes. See them against the salaries for comparable work elsewhere. They may not be better but, they certainly compare very favourably.

Four of the interviewees who rated their salaries as 'fair' believed :

> There is a fair relationship between the salaries paid and the work performed, though the salaries are not large enough to 'motivate' them. But, by and large, the people in these ranks are getting the salary for the quality of work done by them.

TABLE 12   SALARY SATISFACATION

Response	Rank			Total percentage
	Insps.	*SIs*	*ASIs.*	
Good	2	6	4	12
Fair	—	11	9	20
Poor	13	43	12	68

Question 12 : Number of Working Hours put in

Substracting from the total lot the two men at the top who said they were putting in 8 hours duty a day, the pattern of work hours that emerges for the remaining 98 officers goes to show that their normal workday is longer and their weekly working hours are in excess of those prevailing in most occupations in the country, including incumbents of similar positions in other units of the police department. That means that their ordinary working hours are upwards of 54 hours a week—assuming, of course, that they work six days a week.

However, when this information was contrasted with the 'official' position, that is, two shifts a day, each of three hours, and 36 hours a week for all the upper subordinates, it was difficult to see how these officers could justify working for hours, ranging from 54 to 84 hours a week.

When asked to explain the variation during the inter-views, the justification offered by all the sub-inspectors and assistant sub-inspectors went somewhat on the following lines: "We report for work at eight o'clock every morning and three hours later, as per the official schedule, we are off until the next shift. But, in between the two shifts, which is our non-work-time, it is not always non-work time for us. More than often, we cannot go back home for there is always some job or the other. If it is special checking today, it can be a demonstration or a procession tomorrow." One of them even cited an example:

I came to work at 8 this morning and, normally, should have been free to go home by 5 p m. But, I would not be able to go home even though my little son is sick. It is because the Prime Minister is scheduled to go to Meerut at 4 p.m. (it was 23rd of November 1979) and is expected to return to Delhi by 9 p.m. I shall consider myself lucky if I could get back home by 10 p.m. You can now work out the total number of hours I would be putting in today, he said.

Another gave me this explanation :

This is the festival season, as you know. Last night there was a religious procession in my zone—Hauz Kazi—and I had to stay on until 11 p.m. It was midnight by the time I went to bed. Next morning at 6 o'clock a film party from Bombay was going to shoot in Jama Masjid area and I had been asked to be present there by 5.45 p.m. And, I did. Sometimes, we can't get enough time even for sleep.

After doing their first shift, many go to the circle station instead of going back home—which, in most cases, are at long distances. We met some of these officers during those hours in the circle office and found them resting or gossiping. When we ventured the view that the time they were then spending could not be termed as 'working time', they said that in reality that was also their working time. Explaining what they meant by that they said :

Although it is true that right now we are exempted from doing any patrolling, challaning or other routine tasks, but you can never be sure when we might get a call to proceed to a particular point for some job or the other. We might appear to be relaxing but we always live under the constant mental strain of being called to duty any time. And, quite often, that is what happens.

In fact, if one of us wants to go away right now to attend to some private business, he must leave behind information about his whereabouts so that in case there is an emergency call he can be immediately called and pressed into work. So what seems to be our leisure time is virtually no leisure time.

One of the interviewees with long experience in Delhi police, however, offered the opinion that many of his colleagues may be working longer hours 'intentionally'— for that extra money, as he put it.

TABLE 13 NUMBER OF DUTY HOURS

No. of working hours	Rank			Total percentage
	Inspcs.	*SIs.*	*ASIs*	
8 hours	—	1	1	2
8—9 hours	—	1	3	4
9—10 hours	—	32	8	40
10—11 hours	—	8	2	10
11—12 hours	3	17	10	30
12—13 hours	8	—	—	8
13—14 hours	4	1	1	6

Question 13 : Compensation for Extra Hours worked

The pattern of replies produced in Table 14 show that the three ranks represented in this study do not receive any compensation—monetary or otherwise—for the extra hours of work they believe they put in.

NOTE : A few weeks after the questionnaire had been administered, the government announced its decision (in February 1980) to pay one month's salary to all Delhi police personnel up to the rank of Inspector in lieu of holiday duty and over-time. The decision was taken as part of an attempt by government to improve the service conditions of these policemen and came into effect from January, 1980.

TABLE 14 COMPENSATION FOR EXTRA DUTY HOURS

Rank	Paid	Not paid
Inspcs.	—	15
SIs	—	60
ASIs	—	25
Total percentage	—	100

Question 14 : Attitude toward work in absence of compensation for extra duty hours worked

Table 15 presents the results, obtained in answer to Question 14, *i.e.*, only a numbered few officers believe that denial of compensation does not result in lowering of their morale. A majority of them, on the other hand, took the opposite view. The following comment which was illustrative of the majority outlook is extracted from the interview-records :

When the supplementary benefits like holidays/leave, etc., are few and far between, the denial of adequate compensation for extra hours of work cannot but have a demoralising effect. Besides, the idea of compensation for extra work is accepted and implemented in many government-owned organisations. Why not in police ?

When during the interviews we reminded them about the new government order to pay them one month's salary every year as a compensation for the extra hours put in by them, most of them did not seem to see the one-month salary as an adequate compensation—anyway, not large enough to 'motivate' them.

Question 15 : Awareness about long working-day in Police prior to entry

Table 16 is of value to the police management because it points out that most men who seek employment in Police are not always aware of the conditions of service when they enter it. Once they are in it and start comparing their working hours with those of others in government, disappointment

sets in and that affects job-attitudes. The conditions of service in police, therefore, need to be widely publicised to those who have opted to choose it as a career.

TABLE 15 EFFECTS OF LOSS OF COMPENSATION
ON JOB-ATTITUDES

Rank	Ineffectual	Demoralizing
Inspcs.	—	15
SIs	5	55
ASIs	3	22
Total percentage	8	92

When we questioned some of the respondents as to how they did not know about long working hours in Police, some of their typical replies were :

Ten-to-five is a standard practice in our country, so I hardly felt like making any enquiries about this aspect.
Working hours in government is something you take for granted. In Banks, in Ministries, in Insurance Companies and so on, it is eight hours. Government makes laws for others and then enforces them. But, why not enforce all these practices in Police as well ?
A job in Police plus the power and authority it brings— was the primary consideration for me when I joined Police. I was young and did not quite realize then that there are other wants and expectations as well that arise and must be satisfied by the work-place.

One sub-inspector who had prior information about long working hours in Police echoed the feelings of some others, thus :

I knew about conditions of work and life in Police from some of my relations/friends who were already in it. Joining police was a kind of a 'bargain in life'—who knows, if I had missed the chance, it could have been worse.

TABLE 16 PRIOR KNOWLEDGE ABOUT LONG WORKING
HOURS IN POLICE

Rank	Aware	Unaware
Inspcs.	9	6
SIs	18	42
ASIs.	7	18
Total percentage	34	66

Question 16 :   *Preference for 'Shift' or 'Set hours' duty*

The data below (Table 17) clearly predicts the officers' preference for fixed hours in contrast to split shift-duty.

Most of them said that shift-duty did not fit the needs of particularly the married ones.   "It seems to put larger strain. Fixed working hours would enable us to organise our family and social life better."

TABLE 17 PREFERENCES FOR SHIFT/SET HOURS DUTY

Rank	Set hours	Shift duty
Inspcs.	14	1
SIs	51	9
ASIs	18	7
Total percentage	83	17

Question 17 :   Satisfaction—Working Conditions

As is evident from Table 18, one of the problems that seem to dampen the enthusiasm of these men is the 'working conditions' that surround them.   But, before we explain what the interviewees told us it would be better to first record what was observed during our visits to the offices of the various traffic inspectors.

A typical office of a traffic inspector or circle incharge—the king-pin of the traffic police organisation—consists of a medium-sized floor space which is filled with furniture that has either gone brown with age or has old chairs and tables with broken arms/seats. There would be a cheap-looking rack, but most files/papers can be seen as stacked on the floor

because there are just not sufficient cupboards to store them. One can also spot a couple of string-cots lying in a corner of the office room. In one of the offices we even came across an old, discarded fruit-basket turned into a make-shift waste-paper basket.

While talking to the traffic inspectors, it was discovered that there was amongst them a distinct feeling of 'inferiority' *vis-a-vis* the Station House Officers (SHOs of police thanas). Though both are generally located at the same premises, yet, as could be seen, the office-room of SHO, in contrast to that of a traffic inspector, was physically more attractive, better organised, and equipped with better-looking furniture. Several traffic inspectors expressed feelings of hurt and pain on account of this discrimination. Some of these inspectors who had earlier served as SHOs and were now in traffic, said: "We have been on both sides of the fence and it would be no exaggeration to say that a traffic inspector is treated as a 'second-rate citizen' as compared to his counterpart in district police. It looks as if this discrepancy in importance is because, in the reckoning of the society at large and those of the higherups in Police, the work that traffic police are doing is inferior to that being done by the district police. If that be so, this is very unfortunate, for it is just now true."

They also pointed to the differences in the physical resources of the two. "They have telephones and jeeps, but we don't have these although our needs in these respects are as important as theirs."

We always made it a point to see also the inside of the wash-rooms at these circle offices and a quick look invariably revealed grimy wash-basins, leaking taps, and walls needing paint badly.

Perhaps the harshest conditions that we encountered prevailed in the latrines or urinals. Lavatories at Darya Ganj Station, for instance, could be said to resemble field latrines, not in the physical sense, but in view of the unbearable odour of the human waste that hung in the air on the day we happened to visit them.

Urinals at some of the stations were also found to stink. For instance, at West Patel Nagar, in the small wash room-cum-urinal we saw a man taking his shower, hardly a few feet

away from two urinal stalls filled to the brim with urine. The pungent smell emanating from them had already assailed our nostrils and when we asked the constable (as he identified himself later) if he did not find the foul smell offensive, he said: 'Not now. Perhaps having lived through these unclean conditions for a long time, my sense of smell has itself scaled down." When we put that question to the officers under study we came away with the feeling as if most of them, too, seem to be resigned and willing to tolerate conditions as an intrinsic part of their over-all working conditions.

Apart from these insanitary and unhygienic physical conditions of work, amenities are poor in many other respects as well. Both the upper and lower subordinates, for example, complained of certain existing rules and procedures, controls and checks which have outlived their utility. For example, almost all of them referred to the ceiling of Rs. 50 within which they are allowed to get their motor-bikes repaired on their own and then produce receipts for reimbursement. This limit of Rs. 50 was fixed long back and the prices of spare parts have gone up considerably since then. As one of them said, "It was then possible to purchase a motor-cycle chain within that amount, but today it costs around Rs. 80. The maintenance staff at Teen Murti Lane being slow and negligent, the short-cut that all of us have adopted is to go to one of the authorised dealers at Kashmere Gate, get the chain replaced and obtain 2 or 3 rigged bills worth Rs. 80 and produce them at the headquarters. We know it is irregular but it works. If you depend on our own mechanics at Teen Murti, we shall be immobilised. And, can a TI or a ZO (zonal officer) be of any use without his motor-bike ?"

A sub-inspector from the road safety education cell spoke of the restrictive influence of controls and checks by the headquarters staff which can, at times, have serious effect on any plan or programme they wanted to launch. "DCP (traffic)", he said, "has powers to sanction purchases only upto Rs. 50. Suppose our cell is in urgent need of some equipment costing Rs. 300, the papers must travel through a number of desks at different levels and, finally, to the DCP-I (Hq). In the meantime, delays occur for as long as six months, and the work of the cell suffers. If the police department can trust the DCP

(traffic) for management of so large a 'resources', as the traffic police itself, which is worth lakhs of rupees, can't they trust him for a few hundred rupees and his ability to spend them judiciously"?

He also gave examples of three water coolers which were to be installed at a children park, Teen Murti Lines, and Old Lines. Although the files were moved in March 1979, the coolers arrived only in November 1979, when the summer was over and winter had set in. Similarly, cycles in one of the children parks had worn out and "we thought of indenting a *toy car* for the children but the reply we received after considerable time, was: "Purchase of a car falls under the Motor Vehicle Act and, therefore, only DCP (communication and transport) shall buy it." (Interestingly, the indent was for a 'toy car' and not a regular car). He also complained of dilatory practices on the part of clerical staff at the headquarters.

All zonal officers were critical of the department's current policy of not equipping their motor-bikes with wireless system. One of them challenged it this way: "My zone consists of a number of roads and streets. Suppose, a serious accident takes place in one of these streets and I want to get in touch with my TI, but I can't do it. Nor can the circle incharge contact me easily if he happens to sight the accident first. Or, just think of a rash and negligent driver who hits another vehicle, injures a few on the road and then runs away. I must chase him on my own. But, I can't immediately call for corporate support to my action."

Another zonal officer who supported the above position, looked at the 'wireless system' from a wider angle: "Imagine, while on patrol I suddenly find myself near the scene of a crime. Much as I would like to flash the information to the nearnest police station, I can't do so because I am not on the wireless network. Precious time would be lost, and important evidence could get destroyed if I have to run off a kilometer or two to inform the concerned SHO or his subordinates. Shall I take it to mean that the authorities are not interested in traffic police wanting to help the district police in curbing crime. If that be so, is not that a myopic view of the role of the police organisation, as a whole?"

Referring to the wireless sets, another frequent comment was: "It is the responsibility of the management to provide the best kind of tools and equipment to enable us to work efficiently. When the necessary tools are not available, we take it to mean that the management does not want the work to be done well."

Quite a few pointed out the poor quality of raincoats, "they are good only for a drizzle, not for a heavy shower".

Many complained of their idle, waiting time they have to spend at the circle station. "If only there was some good house-keeping, and a neat, orderly retiring-room with pleasant surroundings, one could rest and relax and prepare himself for several hours of standing duty of the ensuing assignment— be it a VIP visit, a demonstration, or a religious procession."

Inspectors, the most overworked lot of the respondents, highlighted the importance of this facility as follows: "When you are fatigued, under stress and are constantly worried about when you might be called up for duty again, and there is no proper place to rest, the motivation for work is likely to drop."

As 'challaning officers' several of them complained about the difficulties in getting supplies of certain stationery items, such, as carbons. A typical statement made by the zonal officers was: "On the one hand, we are constantly under pressure from our assistant commissioners that we must produce a minimum number of challans (say, 200 in a fortnight) and any failure to do so is deemed as 'inefficiency', but, on the other hand, things, such as carbons, without which a challan cannot be written out in three copies, seem to be always in short supply. Most of the time, one has to 'beg, borrow or steal'."

Several sub-inspectors working at the headquarters complained about the shortage of space and showed us the cramped manner in which they were made to sit. One of them whose work centered around statistics and their interpretation (and occasionally some research work) often found it difficult to concentrate on his work because of the low, monotonous murmuring sound that resulted from the conversations of the many others who occupied the same room. In that room which was approximately of the size 40 feet by 40 feet, we

could count as many as 45 officers and men, 20 large desks, 50 chairs, 38 almirahs, and 16 racks. The situation in another hall on the same floor (9th) and one on the tenth floor was no better.

One major frustration, referred to repeatedly by the interviewees, was the existence in Delhi of the multiplicity of authorities which are involved in 'road-safety' (MCD for road markings and signal maintenance, etc.; PWD for road-repairs; DESU for electricity supply) and lack of coordination amongst them. "The inaction or non-cooperation of anyone of these, or more in combination, can minimize or totally disrupt the effectiveness of traffic police which, in a way, stands at the end of the various sequence of operations, that together produce or ensure roads-safety", one of the inspectors said.

Months pass by before fused bulbs are replaced for the signals. Or, take road-markings. Raj Ghat intersection is one of the many examples where the jurisdictions of the different authorities converge, namely, the MCD, the PWD, etc.

Sub-inspectors and assistant sub-inspectors who are desk-bound and are not provided with motor-bikes but are used for control and regulation of traffic on roads in times of emergencies, say, 26th January, political demonstrations, religious festivities/processions. etc., complained about the absence of any transport facility on those occasions. "It worries us, when it is late at night and hours tick by. If we are released by, say, mid-night, it is quite a problem to get home."

TABLE 18   WORKING CONDITIONS

	Rank			Total percentage
	Inspes.	*SIs.*	*ASIs.*	
Satisfied	2	5	2	9
Somewhat satisfied	3	9	5	17
Dissatisfied	10	46	18	74

Question 18 :   Satisfaction—Departmentally   provided   uniforms

Considering the responses to questions 18 and 19 in the

questionnaire and those during the interviews, the verdict of the police officers on the quality of uniforms supplied to them by the department, both for summer and winter wear, is clear: Bulk of them are 'dissatisfied' with both, though more of them with the 'summer' uniform.

TABLE 19   SUMMER UNIFORMS

Rank	Satisfied	Dissatisfied
Inspcs.	1	14
SIs	4	56
ASIs.	7	18
Total percentage	12	88

TABLE 20   WINTER UNIFORMS

Rank	Satisfied	Dissatisfied
Inspcs.	6	9
SIs.	16	44
ASIs.	9	16
Total percentage	31	69

Question 19: *Reasons for dissatisfaction with summer and winter uniforms*

The comments and statements made by the respondents suggest that reasons behind their dissatisfaction are more than one (see Table 21).

The largest number (95) said that they did not like their summer uniforms because they were made of 'cotton' and that too of poor quality. The most frequent reaction, both written and oral, was : "Dirt, grime and sweat make the cotton uniform stink and you can't think of wearing that the next day". Ninety-two of them felt the uniforms were ill-fitting because they were ill stitched and, therefore, gave them a "feeling of slovenliness and uneasiness". When asked that what did they do with such uniforms, one of them replied:

residence, I will show you a trousers whose one leg is long and the other short. Even the pockets are placed wrongly." "The total impact is: the uniform neither lends you a feeling of dignity nor of smartness. On the contrary, it lowers your respect in the eyes of the public", he added. Another said: "The kind of uniform we are given adversely affects the image of the entire police organisation. I don't know what others do with those uniforms, but, to tell you frankly we at home, trade them for stainless steel utensils from those hawkers who occasionally visit our locality", was the answer given by one of the interviewees. The comments offered by many others were similar.

Eightyeight of the respondents mentioned that the cotton uniforms in summer cannot be easily laundered, either. "It is such an exhausting business to wash them, to starch them, and then to iron them", most of them said. Some of them expressed their loathing towards the summer uniform thus: "They get soiled so quickly in summer. They can't hold the crease. Yet I run the risk of inviting penalty from superiors all the time if my uniform is not well-pressed."

One of the respondents did mention that he was once given a 'censure' for his 'sloppy' uniform.

A sub-inspector claimed that he has not even collected his official uniform for the last 5 years.

Their major complaints about the winter uniforms were: Badly-stitched, cumbersome, not comfortable.

Twentythree officers were unhappy for not getting the uniforms in time.

Though no opinions were solicited on 'washing allowance' and 'quality of shoes', yet 18 and 26 of the respondents chose to 'write-in' about them.

A majority of men said they would prefer the opportunity to purchase their own terrylene-uniforms with the department providing a fixed allowance.

Question 20: Attitudes of Inspectors/SIs/ASIs in other Police Units toward Departmentally-provided uniforms —as seen by respondents

The replies to this question suggest that in the view of 92 per cent of the respondents the uniforms worn by a majority

TABLE 21 MAJOR CAUSES OF DISSATISFACTION WITH UNIFORMS

Causes	Number of responses
Poor material	95
Ill-stitched	92
Not easily-laundered	88
Not issued in time	23
Need to increase washing allowance	18
Shoes also of poor quality	26

of inspectors, sub-inspectors/assistant sub-inspectors at work every day are not the 'departmentally-supplied' but their own 'privately-paid-for' uniforms.

If the replies given to this question (Table 22) are read together with the replies given to Questions 18 and 19, it seems that the feelings of aversion toward the "departmentally-supplied" uniforms amongst most police-officers in these ranks is almost total, especially, with respect to the summer uniforms.

TABLE 22 RESPONDENTS' OPINION OF OTHER POLICE OFFICERS/MEN ATTITUDE TOWARD OFFICIALLY SUPPLIED UNIFORMS

Satisfied	Dissatisfied
8	92

Question 21: *Assessment of existing promotion criteria—fair or unfair?*

Table 23 shows that roughly one-third (29 per cent) said that the promotion policy was 'fair', and nearly three-fourth (71 per cent) described it as 'unfair'.

Question 22: *Reasons for describing promotion criteria as 'unfair'*

When asked to state their reasons for regarding the promotion formula 'not fair and just', the replies given generally

fell into two categories: (a) complaints with respect to the very criteria for selection to the promotion, and (b) their perceptions of the way the present formula was being implemented.

TABLE 23 PROMOTION CRITERIA

Rank	Fair	Unfair
Inspcs.	2	13
Sis.	15	45
ASIs	12	13
Total percentage	29	71

TABLE 24 MAJOR CAUSES OF DISSATISFACTION WITH PROMOTION CRITERIA

Causes	Number of responses
Commendation certificates given mostly to staff members who are closer to senior officers, the field staff being 'out of sight, out of mind'	48
Flattery of those who 'matter'	45
No provision for time-bound promotions	26
'Seniority' not the sole determining factor for promotion	22
Preference to scheduled castes/scheduled tribes unjustifiable	16
Too frequent changes in promotion policy	12
Weightage to distinction in sports wrong	8
No provision for promotions through written competition	18
Women discriminated	2

To take (a) first, i.e. complaints with respect to the criteria for selection to promotion, 16 respondents said: "No reservations of vacancies should be made in promotion policy for scheduled castes and scheduled tribes candidates. Reservations are all right at the 'entry point', but once they are in, they must rise only on merit." A few of them even wrote to say: "There are instances of many 'undeserving' scheduled castes and scheduled tribes employees jumping the hierarchical ladder within a short span of time. Such rapid advancements

have always caused pain to the 'deserving' candidates". One of the officials said: "Merit alone should be the criterion for promotion, not accident of one's birth."

Twenty-two sub-inspectors and assistant sub-inspectors (all rising from the level of 'constable') said that 'seniority' alone should constitute as a fair criterion for promotion to the levels above.

However, in opposition to them, 18 sub-inspectors felt that seniority was a deficient criterion for promotion, for it could lead to many organisational problems, such as, the competent subordinates having incompetent superiors. In their view, promotions should be affected only through written examination—though they did not specify what shall be tested in the proposed examination.

Eight of them objected to the weightage being currently given to 'proficiency in sports'. A young sub-inspector grew emotional when we were talking to him on the subject of promotion during the interview. He said:

> It is not just the present rating context that is wrong, but also the rating scale. For instance, if you spend your entire organisational time on practising wrestling bouts, instead of maintaining order on roads (or chasing criminals if you are part of district police), the chances are that under the existing rules you might get a promotion. But, on the other hand, if you spend four hours attending an evening college for law degree which will increase your capability in police work, you get nothing. Why not?

He also wanted greater weightage to be accorded to 'performance on the job' than what is given right now.

Twelve respondents expressed their dissatisfaction with the management practice of "changing promotion policy every now and then". Three of them, during their interviews, said: "Perhaps the management does not realise the demoralising effects of such a practice on the subordinates."

At least eight officers dismissed 'interviews' as mere 'eyewash'. The remark made by one of them was:

> They asked me a couple of questions, like name, education; just 40-50 seconds and it was all over.

Coming to the second category, namely, their perceptions of the quality of rating done in the promotion process, a large number of those surveyed (45) saw most promotions as "based on flattery of those who gave promotions by those who got promotions."

Almost an equal number (48) found fault with the way most 'commendation certificates' were awarded. "These certificates", stated many sub-inspectors and assistant sub-inspectors, "were generally grabbed by the headquarters staff who are closer to the bosses. It is thus 'halo' effect of being seen and running about all the time—an advantage with the headquarters staff to which the senior officers fall prey to. The field staff, on the other hand, are like 'out of sight, out of mind' employees whose true levels of performance can never be observed by the seniors. Therefore, there would always be this lack of objectivity in their rating for award of commendation certificates."

"Besides", they said, "the work at the headquarters and the job in the field are not of equal worth. The work that is of true value to our organisation is the work that is done in the field, for that is where traffic police is really at work and its reputation at stake."

"Women were discriminated"—was the comment that came from two respondents As is apparent, the respondents who drew attention to this lack of uniformity in the implementation of the promotion policy came from two women officers.

Twenty-six officers demanded that there should be time-bound promotions.

Question 23: *Perception of Promotion Prospects*

The data presented in Table 25 reflects depression amongst a large majority of the officers surveyed. When 44 per cent say that they see 'nothing definite' about their chances of advancement, their prevailing mood seems to suggest a combination of confusion and depression. But, for the 37 officers who view themselves as facing a 'dead-end', the promotion prospects are nothing but depressing and therefore causing job-dissatisfaction for a big majority of them. Only 19 per cent of the men said they were hopeful of getting promotions, sooner or later.

In an organisation like Delhi Police where 1904 sub-inspectors dream of becoming inspectors (total positions available—336 only) and 336 inspectors want to become assistant commissioners (total positions available—98 only), opportunities for promotion cannot be but limited. Generally speaking, after being promoted 'once' —from assistant sub-inspector to sub-inspector or from sub-inspector to inspector— the chances for moving ahead are drastically reduced. Indeed, an upper subordinate can go for years (10 to 12) without moving into the next higher position and, generally, only a small minority of men seem to make it to the level of assistant commissioner.

'Promotion' figured very significantly in the future plans of all those we interviewed. Some of the inspectors we spoke to even resented the concept of the 'two-tier' force, with higher qualifications and competition for direct entry to the upper tier and lower qualifications for entry into the 'lower tier'. "Why can't those entering into the 'lower tier' with lower qualifications but outstanding work qualities be allowed to enter the 'upper tier', they asked. "The way ahead should be open to them right to the position of the commissioner", as one of them put it.

TABLE 25 PROMOTION PROSPECTS

Rank	Good	Nothing definite	Almost dead-end
Inspcs.	3	3	
SIs	14	31	15
ASIs	2	10	13
Total percentage	19	44	37

Question 24: *Attitude on provision for a regular 'weekly-off'*
Question 25: *Reasons given in support of a 'weekly-off'*

Tabulations of answers (Table Nos. 26 and 27) to the two inter-connected questions (24 and 25) reveal that all the respondents, with the exception of only one, have not only

registered their wish for a regular weekly-off but also recorded four firm reasons to give legitimacy to their expressed wish.

TABLE 26 WISH FOR A REGULAR WEEKLY-OFF

Rank	Yes	No
Inspcs.	15	—
SIs	60	—
ASIs	24	1
Total percentage	99	1

TABLE 27 REASONS FOR SUPPORT OF WEEKLY-OFF

Reasons	Number of responses
To fulfil domestic responsibilities	94
For week-end rest and efficiency on job	85
On human grounds	55
To meet demands of social life	46

Apart from the reasons stated in the questionnaire, it is interesting also to note some of the typical comments made by them during the interviews:

1. A weekly-off is a must for the pursuit of domestic responsibilities and social life.
2. If they want me to keep my job in order, they must help me keep my home in order.
3. Work cannot be a pleasure so long as your mind is bogged down with the cares and anxieties of domestic obligations demanding urgent attention.
4. Week-end rest and relaxation is very essential. I cannot give serious attention to my job if I come to work tired.
5. The most disagreeable feature of this 'no regular weekly off practice' is that you can neither serve 'office' nor 'home'.

6. After all, we are also human beings.
7. Some of us do get a rest-day every now and then but it is not steady. You may get it after a fortnight or after three weeks. But, that is not enough.
8. I want to see more of my family and friends than my work permits right now.

Though many conceded, during the interviews, that in comparison with the district police duty, traffic work offers far more opportunities for weekly rest but they pointed out there is a marked difference in this facility within the traffic police itself. For example, those who are posted to the headquarters, enjoy every year as many as 84 definite holidays (52 sundays, 12 second saturdays and about 20 gazetted holidays), but there is no such thing for the field staff. Why this discrimination, they asked? Aren't we all governed by the same conditions of service?

Some of them complained that even if sometimes there are urgent personal or domestic problems that must be attended to as soon as they crop up but we have to postpone attention to them until we get a rest-day. "The whole climate discourages you to ask for leave or absence", many of them rema rked.

"There is also a climate of suspicion", another observed. "If I send in a simple application saying that I am sick and therefore cannot come to work, they would not believe me. I must support my application with a medical certificate which always costs me some money—another irksome thing about the police and its procedures."

Question 26: Satisfaction—working of 'Sampark Sabhas'

The feelings of most of the respondents with respect to the working of 'Sampark Sabhas' are clearly negative (Table 28). Typical comments, made during the interviews, were as follows:

Because of shift or emergency duties not everyone can be present.
They are not held regularly.

Personally, I am disappointed. Once the accounts department had made some wrong deductions from my salary and I raised the matter at the next 'sabha'. Almost one year has passed by, but I haven't got my money back. The only result that I can see is that the attitude of the concerned accounts clerk towards me has hardened.

One of the requirements of the procedure followed in handling traffic violations is that after a challaning officer has filled out all the details about the offence committed in the challan form, he must obtain the signature of the offender at a place marked 'Signature of Accused'. In one of the *Sampark Sabhas* I reasoned that the term 'Accused' be replaced by a milder term like 'Traffic Violator' because the former is too strong to fit the nature of a wrong done by a road-user. Although my suggestion was accepted, but the same old form is still in use.'

However, in spite of these negative comments, at least four of the respondents interviewed, justified the worthiness of the *Sampark Sabhas*. They were unanimous in stating that by voicing their grievances at these *sabhas* they were able to overcome some irritating bottlenecks in the discharge of their duties.

If most officers were either 'dissatisfied', or 'somewhat dissatisfied' with *sampark sabhas* as an instrument for redress of their grievances, the next question was aimed at finding out if that was due to any communication problem between the superiors (who heard the grievances) and the subordinates (who voiced the grievances).

TABLE 28 'SAMPARK SABHAS'

Rank	Satisfied	Somewhat Satisfied	Dissatisfied
Inspcs.	2	5	8
SIs	4	16	40
ASIs	4	7	14
Total percentege	10	28	62

Question 27: 'Sampark   Sabhas'—*freedom   to   speak   without fear*

The results of the above question (Table 29) can be briefly summed up as follows : A majority of men, during the course of these meetings, either do not wish to communicate at all (63%) or communicate only sometimes (27%).

In other words these meetings, however, well-intentioned their objectives might be, are not, at present serving the purpose of natural outlets for expression of the sentiments, hopes, fears and emotions by these men. If an answer is needed as to why they refuse to 'communicate', it can be partly found in their replies to Question 32, *viz.*, 'absence of right climate' and 'disinterested superiors'.

When we sought further explanation from some of them during our interviews, they expressed their apprehensions in the following words :

Most superiors do not like their subordinates to communicate bad news in the presence of so many people. They seem to have sudden fears that airing of a complaint (be it of any kind) by a subordinate would reflect upon their own efficiency and so there is a general tendency to discourage open communication at these meetings.

As subordinates we, too, hesitate to open up on such occasions because one is not sure how the boss/bosses at the highest level might react. However, even if the top boss is criticism-minded, there is no guarantee that those below him also will welcome criticism. Besides, the criticism will always be resented by those it is directed at, thereby, upsetting quite a few inter-personal relationships. Wherever they happen to be situated in the work-place, in traffic or headquarters, risks are too many. Aren't they ?

Besides, some of our problems are concerned with our living conditions, say, housing. They are insoluble so far *Sampark Sabhas* are concerned.

There is no prompt action on matters which are outside traffic police control. This also discourages many to bring their problems to this forum. Someone should be officially 'named' to assist those affected for follow-up action, if necessary.

TABLE 29 PERCEIVED FREEDOM TO SPEAK IN
'SAMPARK SABHAS'

Rank	Always free	Sometimes free, sometimes careful	Always careful
Inspcs.	1	3	11
SIs	3	18	39
ASIs	6	6	13
Total percentage	10	27	63

Question 28: *Recognition of individual respect and dignity in Traffic Police*

The expressed feelings on the question of whether or not superior-subordinates relationship in Delhi traffic police, in general, is based upon respect for the individual employee clearly suggest that at least a majority of the respondents do not think so (Table 30).

"No, we are not always treated with respect by our superiors", two sub-inspectors told us, when interviwed. "What to speak of receiving courtesy, you can be ridiculed in the presence of others, even for minor mistakes. It hurts us terribly but if you are a subordinate in police, you got to swallow all that."

Another sub-inspector narrated a personal experience to show how some superiors hardly ever recognised their subordinates as individuals with feelings, emotions and sentiments and appeared to view them as mere commodities to be used for their personal ends. He said and we quote :

I was one morning summoned by my superior and asked to go to a local women's college and fetch a copy of the prospectus and an admission form for his daughter. Grumbling, I jumped on to my motorbike and returned with the material which had cost me five rupees. As I stood in his room, waiting for my money, the superior, after thumbing through the pages for a few minutes, said : It is all right and you may go.

When we asked him if that happened in traffic police, he said, "No, in a thana." Perhaps some of them seem to ex-

trapolate their experiences from other units into their years in traffic police.

An Inspector however struck a slightly different note.

It is not that everybody is bad here. There are good people around here who do show understanding and courtesy but they are in a minority.

But, another inspector was of the view that "It was wrong to imagine that police as an organisation could ever be 'human'. A predominant belief in the police circles is : You won't be respected here as an effective 'thanedar' unless they see the stone wall close by trembling at your sight."

"Haven't you ever seen the way they load (like goods or cattle) some 50 to 60 policemen together into a van which can hardly take 30 and then drive them out to control violent mobs. If the organisation has little regard for these policemen as human beings, would they have any regard for their fellow-citizens ?" —was how a senior inspector quipped.

TABLE 30   INDIVIDUAL DIGNITY AND RESPECT IN TRAFFIC POLICE

Rank	Given	Denied
Inspcs.	6	9
SIs	21	39
ASIs	15	10
Total percentage	42	58

TABLE 31   ENCOURAGEMENT FROM SUPERIORS TO COMMUNICATE FREELY

Rank	Yes	No
Inspcs.	8	7
SIs	19	41
ASIs	13	12
Total percentage	40	60

Question 29: Day to day upward communication pattern

A finding pointing out to the superiors' indifference towards their subordinates came out when 60 per cent of them

indicated that their superiors did not encourage them to make suggestions for improvements in the working of the organisation, as a whole (Table 31).

This analysis of open (40%), closed (60%) communication pattern between the superiors and subordinates was further examined in three inter-related parts (Questions 30, 31 and 32).

Question 30 : 1. *The respondents who received 'encouragement' from superiors (40%) were asked to indicate if they ever tried to contribute any useful idea (Table 32).*

Question 31 : 2. *If they did, was the idea/suggestion seriously listened to/considered by the superiors (Table 33)*

Question 32 : 3. *If never tried, what were the reasons (Table 34).*

TABLE 32   WILL INGNESS TO MAKE USE OF SUPERIORS' 'ENCOURAGEMENT' TO SUGGEST IDEAS

Rank	*Willing*	*Unwilling*
Inspcs.	5	2
SIs	14	7
ASIs	9	3
Total percentage	28	12

TABLE 33   SUPERIORS'   ATTITUDE TOWARD IDEAS SUGGESTED

Rank	*Sensitive*	*Insensitive*
Inspcs.	2	3
SIs	4	10
ASIs	3	6
Total precentage	9	19

As can be made out from Table 32, 33 and 34, 28 respondents (out of 40) said that they tried to contribute ideas/

TABLE 34   REASONS FOR NOT GIVING SUGGESTIONS

Reasons	Number of responses
Laziness on one's part	6
Lack of interest	2
Absence of right climate for freedom of expression in Police	38
Disinterested superiors	14
Any other	—

suggestions they considered useful. But. when these 28 men were asked to indicate whether or not the idea/s suggested by them in the past—oral or written—were listened to or considered by their superiors, only nine of them said, 'they were'. Nineteen replied in the negative.

Question 32 was addressed to those who had never tried giving an idea/suggestion to their superiors and asked them to state the reasons for such an attitude. As many as 38 (out of 60) attributed it to "absence of right climate for freedom of expression in police", 14 blamed it on "disinterested superiors", and eight were honest enough to own their 'laziness' (6) and 'lack of interest' (2).

Question 33: *Styles of leadership, as preferred by respondents*

The results of the question 33 clearly show (Table 35) that almost three-fourths of the sample preferred "democratic style of leadership" as opposed to 'authoritarian style'. When we looked at the educational background of those who demand democratic style, we found that the men in whom appreciation for such leadership runs the highest are all university graduates (38).

Question 34: *Styles of learship of ACPs and above, as perceived by respondents*

Question 34 dealt with the styles of leadership of the officers of the rank of assistant commissioners and above, as perceived by the respondents. It is notable that the proportion of respondents rating the style of leadership of the top

TABLE 35   LEADERSHIP STYLES ADMIRED BY RESPONDENTS

Rank	Aurhoritarian	Democratic	Laissez faire
Inspcs.	3	12	—
SIs	11	49	—
ASIs	16	9	—
Total percentage	30	70	—

management as 'democratic' is lower (21) than those rating it as 'authoritarian' (58). Sixteen of them said that their superiors followed the 'Laissez-faire' style. Five commented 'some are authoritarian and some democratic' (Table 36).

TABLE 36   PERCEIVED LEADERSHIP STYLES OF
SUPERIORS—ACPs AND ABOVE

Rank	Authoritarian	Democratic	Laissez-faire
Insps.	11	2	2
SIs	40	11	9
ASIs	7	8	5
Total percentage	58	21	16

Five per cent commented : Some are authoritarian, some are democratic.

Question 35: Quality of team-spirit at the Circle level

When asked : "As compared to the spirit which generally binds together members of a volley-ball, football or a hockey team, how would you rate the quality of this spirit prevailing in your level at the circle level ?", only 26 of the respondents rated it as 'good' in comparison to 74 who regarded it either as 'average' (42) or 'poor' (32). Thus, it turns out that as seen by these intermediate officers who themselves occupy positions of leadership at their respective levels, there is no sense of *esprit de corps* amongst the members of the team or a sense of belonging to the organisation (Table 37).

It is quite obvious that when the team spirit of a level of manpower within an organization—on top of it, a level which is the 'show-piece' of the organisation—is 'poor' or close to

poor (*i.e.*, average) the attainment of the objectives in reducing accidents, ensuring smooth flow of traffic in the city, etc. would not go beyond the 'poor' or 'average' quality either. And, so long as the team spirit remains so, the performance of the circle-teams would not be what it should be. In other words, the work that is supposed to be accomplished at the circle level shall not be accomplished.

'Team spirit' which implies a shared enthusiasm, cooperation and an earnest regard for the organisation and for its objectives is a many-sided problem particularly for the traffic police. Apart from the various outside constraints, such as routine and random transfer of poorly-motivated men, it is also the human problem of building up by the traffic police itself a series of teams* at all the circle and zonal levels who will work together harmoniously.

TABLE 37   QUALITY OF TEAM SPIRIT AT CIRCLE OFFICES

Rank	*Good*	*Average*	*Poor*
Inspcs.	9	3	3
SIs	11	26	23
ASIs	6	13	6
Total percentage	26	42	32

Question 36: Public's attitude towards challaning, as perceived by respondents

What the findings below (Table 38) indicate is that the reaction of a majority of people booked for violations by the traffic police is one of dislike and disrespect, both for the law and the law-enforcement agency. Only a very small number seem to accept challaning without a murmur ; others see it either as a kind of threat or show low regard for it.

*It is important to remember differentiation between a 'group' and a 'team', for the mere fact of banding a few people together, with regular reporting relationship within a formal hierarchy and then giving them a clearly—stated objective or mission does not create a team; at best it can be termed a 'group'. A 'team' or a 'team spirit' comes into existence only when each member of the group invests his total 'emotional commitment' to the achievement of its goals.

"The public attitude is very funny", as one of the inspectors said in his interview. "If only they try to understand the philosophy behind the traffic laws ! The whole purpose is to protect the lives of the road-users. Take, for example, "wearing of the helmet by a scooterist". A prosecution is only a reminder to an offender that it is not safe to drive a scooter without a helmet. Yet, this reminder is not welcome by them. On the contrary, most frown upon us.

Many sub-inspectors and assistant sub-inspectors decribed their experiences with violators as follows : "Challaning is a very unpleasant and irritating job. Typically, an offender would try to avoid a challan to the best of his ability. First, some lame excuses. When he finds we are not going to relent, he would start shouting and charge us of being rough with them and threaten to complain to our superiors. Some would even try to drop the names of the higher ups in the police hierarchy in order to overawe us. Others would try to bribe : Take this 'fiver' and forget about it, etc., etc."

"Only very very few are nice and quietly accept the challan", they added.

TABLE 38 PUBLIC ATTITUDE TOWARD CHALLANING

Respondents	Agreeable	Some what agreeable	Disagreeable
Inspcs.	1	4	10
SIs	—	13	47
ASIs	2	9	14
Total percentage	3	26	71

Question 37 : *Respondents' experience in relation to 'on-lookers' at the time of challaning*

The previous question (No. 36) was concerned with the attitudes and behaviour of the road-users towards 'challaning' —one of the activities of the traffic police. In this question we were once again concerned with the members of the public—though of a different kind, namely, 'on-lookers' who assemble around the traffic men and the violators at the time of challaning.

A look at Table 39 would show that there is ample evidence of the fairly consistent pattern of attitudes and behaviour of the violators and 'on-lookers' alike towards the traffic police in their primary task of traffic law enforcement. Indeed the results, as revealed by the two questions, present the attitudes and behaviour of the public, in general, in an integrated fashion, which is, one of non-cooperation, obstruction and coolness rather than of help, support, and understanding towards traffic police in the discharge of their responsibilities.

TABLE 39 'ON-LOOKERS' ATTITUDE TOWARD CHALLANING

Respondents	Sympathy with violators	Sympathy with Police
Inspcs.	13	2
SIs	56	4
ASIs	21	4
Total percentage	90	10

Question 38 : Reported attitudes towards delays of traffic cases in courts

The primary significance of the data (five feelings — Table 40) revealed by the respondents in response to Question 38 is that the intrinsic job-satisfaction which these traffic officers expect to receive from the work they do is not afforded to them by one of their 'immediate' work-tasks, namely, 'challaning'. On the contrary, most of them (91) seem to be trapped by a sense of 'helplessness', that is, in spite of their best efforts to challan a maximum number of traffic law offenders and, thereby, ensure discipline on roads, they are getting nowhere. A large number of them (71) would like to see the offenders fined 'on the spot' and when that did not happen, it led their feelings in the opposite direction, namely, feelings of dissatisfaction with job such as, 'irritation and resentment' (76), 'loss of interest in work' (63), etc.

When, during the interviews, we confronted some of them with the question "how did it matter whether or not the

offenders were punished on the spot or elsewhere their job was merely to ⌐rosecute them and then to send them to the court of law'. The following reply illustrated the majority view :

> It is only when you see the results of your work that you feel genuine satisfaction. Right now, we keep on booking violators mechanically but it takes months and years before they get punished in the courts. These delays have two negative effects on our work : (1) emboldens the violators, and (2) kills our interest in the job.

TABLE 40   EFFECTS OF COURT DELAYS ON JOB
SATISFACTION

Effects	*Respondents*
Helplessness	91
Irritation and resentment	76
On-the-spot heavy fines as the only remedy to make people see the importance of obeying traffic laws	71
Lack in interest in work	63
Wouldn't care less ; I have done my job	22

Question 39 : Adequacy of staff in Circles

The complaint of staff shortage (made by 54 inspectors and zonal officers—Table 41) came from—as the interviews revealed later—from officers who were posted in the congested areas, whether in the heart of the city or elsewhere. Most of them said that the strength of their circle staff did not always keep pace with the increase in population, much less with the diversity and complexity of traffic conditions in their areas. "In my area", an inspector said, "the situation becomes unmanageable during peak hours. Even if everyone of us were to operate at 100 per cent efficiency level at peak hours we would still not be able to improve matters. The only alternative is : the size of the staff in this circle must go up", he added.

Another inspector (circle incharge) used statistics to drive home his point : "The sanctioned strength of constables alone for my circle is 30, but I have only 18 of them, at present. That is one kind of shortage I constantly experience. How-

ever, there is another type which cripples me every now and then. Take, for instance, the situation I am to face today itself. Out of these 18 constables, two are on earned leave, 1 on casual, 1 in hospital, 1 on medical rest, 4 on parade, 1 on roznamcha duty, 1 on 'dak duty', and 1 in 'reserve'. In all, I am left with only five constables to man the large area that I have to look after." "Finally", I may mention, he added "that a major grievance of constables who are the backbone of my circle is 'non-availability of leave' and hence this obsession to apply for leave on one pretext or the other. Nearer one's village/town from Delhi, greater the tendency to run away to the family."

It can be seen that it is the inspectors (10 out of total 15) amongst the respondents, in comparison with the other two groups (SIs and ASIs) who appear to lay greater stress on inadequacy of staff.

TABLE 41 MANPOWER AT 'CIRCLE' LEVEL

Respondents	Adequate	Inadequate
Inspcs.	5	10
SIs	24	34
ASIs	14	10
Total percentage	43	54

NOTE : Three did not answer the question.

Question 40 : *Desirability of management-provided recreational facilities*

The feeling that management should not only sponsor but also support recreational facilities for the men was shared by 77 per cent of the respondents as against 23 per cent who did not think likewise (Table 42).

"These facilities are essential so that the leisure time, both on and off the job, can be spent in a healthy manner"—as one of them put it. Many said that they did not normally return to their homes for lunch and stayed on at the circle office where one either dozed off in a ramshackle cot or chair or just talked shop with other colleagues to kill the time.

"However, if there was a room where, say, indoor sports facilities, like table tennis, etc., were available, we could put our time to some constructive use as well as release our tensions", a sub-inspector said.

"The management should also encourage social and welfare activities, like departmentally-sponsored outings or events in which the entire family can participate. So many government-owned organisations, particularly the industrial or commercial ones, encourage such things, why can't the police department also organise such things", he asked. In such events, members of the management should also participate ; these outings can serve not only as important means of improving communication between them and us but will also help promote greater harmony in the organisation.

"But, who is interested in our welfare. They (meaning, the management) are interested only in work"—an Inspector expressed his sorrow, thus.

TABLE 42   RECREATION FACILITIES AS A MANAGEMENT
RESPONSIBILITY

Respondents	Yes	No
Inspcs.	14	1
SIs	45	15
ASIs	18	7
Total percentage	77	23

Question 41 : *Respondents' liking (most preferred, second-most preferred, and third-most preferred) for particular units of Delhi police for purposes of assignment*

Table 43 gives the classification of the replies we received in terms of respondents' preference for assignment to particular units of Delhi Police :

The data presented (Table 43) makes it absolutely clear that the idea of being posted to 'district police' (or 'thanas') and 'traffic police' seems to be particularly attractive to a majority of the officers surveyed. Very few reveal an orientation to

TABLE 43   OPINIONS EXPRESSED ABOUT POLICE UNITS
PREFERRED FOR POSTINGS IN DELHI
POLICE

Unit	Most preferred	Second-most preferred	Third-most preferred
DAP	0	0	0
Security	2	2	3
CID (Special)	3	3	2
CID (Crime)	8	3	1
Foreigners reg. office	6	4	5
Control room	—	—	—
Prosecution branch	5	—	1
Police headquarters	5	3	2
District police	33	44	43
Traffic police	33	41	43

work in units, such as, DAP, Control room, Security, CID,
Foreigners registration office, Prosecution branch and Police
headquarters.

When asked during the interviews as to why the officers
saw stints in 'thanas' or 'traffic' as more advantageous, most of
them evaded a direct reply and simply stated: 'You should know
why'? Some were, however, frank enough to say : 'economic
benefits'. "How can you maintain a middle-class standard of
living on the basis of the salary I am paid"—as one of them
put it.

With the above comparisons in mind, it was of interest to
investigate their preferences also for particular sections/ duties
within the traffic police.

*Question 42: Respondents' liking (most preferred, second-most
preferred, and third-most preferred) for parti-
cular tasks/activities in traffic police for purposes
of assignment*

Table 44   explains the perferences we obtained in respect
of duties within traffic police.

The   data clearly shows that a majority of respondents
see their posting to units, such as, 'VIP routes', Parliament

TABLE 44 OPINIONS EXPRESSED ABOUT TYPE OF
DUTIES PREFERRED IN "TRAFFIC POLICE"

Unit	First preference	Second preference	Third preference
Road Safety Education Cell	—	—	—
Office work	8	7	7
Computerization of Records	4	3	3
VIP Routes	—	—	—
Parliament House	—	—	—
Records Setcion	4	3	3
Railway Station/ ISBT	30	28	27
Special checking/ challaning	20	18	20
Mobile Courts	13	14	12
Field duty (patrolling challaning, etc.)	21	27	28

House, Computerization of records decidely in unfavourable light in comparison to postings at 'Railway stations/inter-state bus stop', 'Field duty', 'Special checking/challenging', etc. If we note here the preferences indicated in answer to Question 41 and read them along with the 'preferences' indicated in reply to Question 42, we can come to a positive conclusion that both in terms of inter-unit (DAP, Security, CID, Control room, Headquarters, etc.) and intra-unit (Road safety education cell, Office work, VIP routes, Field duty, etc.), the postings that are most preferred are the ones that are likely to bring the respondents in contacts with the man-in-the-street and can be beneficial in terms of some financial rewards.

Question 43: Satisfaction—availability of time and leisure for personal, family and social needs

A majority of respondents clearly indicated (Tables 45, 46 and 47) that the police life and the demands it makes on their time, does not permit sufficient leisure time for attending to their personal, family and social needs.

'When an organisation believes that we are on a 24 hour call duty, who can have the liberty to tell himself: well, here is a block of time (say, a weekly off) that is exclusively yours and you can spend it as you like"; one of the officers stated. Another commented: "The management does not seem to recognize that our families, too, have some claim on our time and energies."

"We also want to be able to visit friends or relations in the same way as people in other professions do. But, I can't always do. Sometimes it so happens that there is a small family gathering at home when our nears and dears have assembled, but it is not possible to join them. You can imagine what our feelings are. It spoils the occasion for one and all", explained another.

We also discovered during our interviews that longer an officer's period of service in police, more unhappy he was about the way the life in police impinged on his personal, private and social life.

One of them thought he was lucky he was in traffic: "You can at least sleep your nights at home. You can't do that if you are in district police. A small bonus but, I for one, greatly prize it."

TABLE 45 LEISURE TIME AVAILABLE FOR PERSONAL NEEDS

Respondents	Satisfied	Somewhat satisfied	Dis-satisfied
Inspcs.	1	3	11
SIs.	12	14	34
ASIs.	9	9	7
Total percentage	22	26	52

Question 44: Reputation of traffic police during the past 20 years—risen or fallen

As shown in Table 48, 45 respondents estimated that the reputation of traffic police, during the last 20 years, had gone up as aginst 41 per cent and 14 per cent who perceived it as 'remaining the same' and 'fallen' respectively.

TABLE 46 LEISURE TIME AVAILABLE FOR FAMILY
NEEDS

Respondents	Satisfied	Somewhat satisfied	Dis-satisfied
Inspcs.	1	1	13
SIs.	4	6	50
ASIs.	3	4	18
Total percentage	8	11	81

TABLE 47 LEISURE TIME AVAILABLE FOR SOCIAL
NEEDS

Respondents	Satisfied	Somewhat satisfied	Dis-satisfied
Inspcs.	1	1	13
SIs.	2	1	57
ASIs.	3	4	18
Total percentage	6	6	88

TABLE 48 REPUTATION OF TRAFFIC POLICE DURING
LAST 20 YEARS

Rank	Risen	Remained the same	Fallen
Inspes.	8	5	2
SIs.	21	28	11
ASIs.	16	8	1
Total percentage	45	41	14

The interview data showed that those who took an 'optimistic view' and reported that the image of traffic police had gone up a great deal seemed to base their belief on the vast variety of new programmes, such as, lecturing/films/painting competitions, introduced on an ever-increasing scale in schools in Delhi in recent years with a view to educating the

children for their adult lives. As one of the inspectors explained:

> Twenty years back, traffic police was a *persona non grata* so far as schools in Delhi were concerned. I have been in and out of traffic a couple of times in the past and I know the school authorities used to consider training-for-road-safety as a futile activity but today road-safety education in schools has grown substantially. The authorities, the individual teachers in many schools (of course, there are blind spots) have come to recognize its importance and are backing up this programme. As a result, not only more and more children are being trained to be responsible road-users but thousands of them voluntarily give their time and energies in helping police regulate traffic on roads.

Two sub-inspectors who indicated the same frame of mind as well as reflected the feelings of quite a few other colleagues who were interviewed, drew attention to the institution of traffic wardens, seminars held from time to time, establishment of traffic-parks as training centres for children as part of a multi-pronged attack on traffic problems in the city. They concluded: "As this movement spreads, we are winning more and more friends in the community and this raises our stock in the eyes of the public."

A couple of them were even venturing to extrapolate their view of the recent years' developments into the years ahead and remarked: "Things have vastly improved during the past 5-odd years. This gives us confidence to say that they will improve in future as well."

Fourteen per cent, however, took a 'pessimistic' view and some of them, in their interviews, argued: "It is true that traffic police as an organisation is far more active today than it was way back but considering the deaths on the road all these years the image of traffic police has fallen, though, largely speaking, we are not to be blamed entirely for the accidents."

Another stated: "Grappling with traffic problems here is not an easy task. There is no public concern about it. No co-

ordination amongst the various agencies jointly responsible for traffic problems. But, when things go wrong, traffic police gets fired. No wonder, its image never improves."

The general pattern of interview-response of those who believed that the reputation "has remained the same" was; "We, here in traffic, always feel like a pygmy before the gigantic problem, namely, traffic safety. The end-result has been that no matter how good a job we do (look at our law: enforcement records), we are no match for the size of the problem. This explains why our reputation has almost remained the same over the years."

Question 45: *Important improvements by top management in Traffic Department to make it efficient—as desired by respondents*

The actual question asked of the respondents was:

Would you like to suggest ways, if any (excluding salaries and other financial incentives) in which the top management can do something to improve efficiency of the staff at your own level as well as of those below you?

What is chiefly significant about the replies given by the respondents is that while they were asked to make only such suggestions which did not involve any 'financial implications' (such as, salaries or incentives), yet the respondents emphasized, for the most part, factors which are 'financial' in nature. The suggestions offered are quite varied and the outlook is well illustrated by the extracts from the questionnaire-schedules (Table 49).

It may be noted from the Table that while the respondents assigned high priority to factors (*a*) to (*g*), they accorded relatively low place to factors (*h*) to (*o*).

Why did the respondents mostly mentioned factors that centre around 'money'? One conclusion could be that they did not carefully go through the question and try to understand it. Or, is it that such suggestions were made in a calculative manner, *i.e.*, in order to tell the top management that improvements in the functioning of the department could not be expected unless their material or 'lower-level' needs were met with.

TABLE 49   SUGGESTED MOTIVATING FACTORS FOR
AN EFFECTIVE TRAFFIC DEPARTMENT

Suggested Factors	*Number of Responses*
(*a*) Better promotion opportunities	78
(*b*) Weekly-off and easy leave facilities	77
(*c*) Higher salary	75
(*d*) Improved working conditions	74
(*e*) Housing	72
(*f*) Regular working hours	69
(*g*) Education for children in central schools	55
(*h*) Human relations	48
(*i*) Spot fines for traffic offenders	41
(*j*) Induction of young and fresh police officers in traffic work	40
(*k*) Objective assessment of work	40
(*l*) Quick redress of grievances	38
(*m*) Adequate space for traffic staff in 'thana' premises	27
(*n*) Increased resources in terms of wireless-sets and vehicles	26
(*o*) Proximity between residence and place of work	19

Question 46: Evaluation of comparable Government job in Delhi vis-a-vis present job in police

It is clear from Table 50 that those who would choose another job (majority) feel that they would have had better life chances if they had stayed outside the police, in terms of expectations of better pay, quick advancement—though, it is exceedingly difficult to prove. Nonetheless, the responses of the men attest to the existence of negative feelings towards their organisation, and it is reasonable to believe that these feelings serve to be impairing their motivation to invest themselves in their jobs whole-heartedly. Some wrote-in to suggest that "present unemployment conditions in the country" were the most important pull-factor for their entry into police. "Now, one feels boxed-in and perhaps there is no way out of this suffocating 24-hour job cycle", some of them said.

TABLE 50 POLICE JOB AS A CAREER

Rank	Attractive	Unattractive
Inspcs.	6	9
SIs.	21	39
ASIs.	11	14
Total percentage	38	62

□

TRAFFIC POLICE AS A 'LIVING SYSTEM'

It is always easy to look at the 'formal' part of an organisation which is given and fixed. But, while getting to know the formal part, it is also imperative for a student of organisation to study the 'living system' if he or she is to gain a realistic insight into the working of an organisation. 'Living system' is the 'real' organisation, for that is what—as the organisation theorists say—makes the formal one work.

Chris Argyris, a noted American behavioura scientist, defines the term 'living system' as "the way the people actually behave, the way they actually think and feel, the way they actually deal with each other". "The living system", he continues, "includes both the formal and the informal activities . . . represents how things are, not merely how they are supposed to be."* This chapter attempts to look at the 'actual' behaviour of a good percentage of the middle-level officers— individuals and groups—within the formal blue-print of the Delhi traffic police.

To a certain extent, the vacuum in our knowledge about the 'living system' of Delhi traffic police has already been filled by the description of its formal organisation (Chapter 3), and the large amount of information—feelings/job attitudes on a broad range of critical organisational factors—generated by the questionnaire and the interviews (Chapter 4).

It almost goes without saying that it would be beyond the ambit of a study of this kind to spell out all the characteristics of the 'living system' of Delhi traffic police. At best, it can present only a fractional view—fractional yet substantial enough for a fairly penetrating peep into the real character of the organisation or what some writers also refer to as

*Chris Argyris, *Some Causes of Organisational Ineffectiveness within the Department of State*, U.S. Government, Washington, p. 2.

'organisational climate'* As one commentator puts it: "One cannot capture a river in a bucket, although a bucket can provide a partial sample of what is in a river."†

It is important to recall here that this study focuses only on three ranks in the Delhi traffic police who constitute the intermediate layers of the hierarchy. These are the men who, in terms of their formal roles, occupy very key and strategic positions (as heads of circles and zones within circles) and bear the responsibility of achieving both the short-term objectives of their respective units and through them the long-term corporate objectives of the organisation.

A 'circle' or 'zonal' team in traffic is constructed with a specific task and this task, as we know, is: regulation and control of traffic, and prosecution of traffic law violators in the designated areas. As is natural in a formal organisation, it is expected by those above that when each member of the team steps out of the circle station every morning, he has committed all his energies to the common objectives and that all his behaviour would be supportive of the common objectives, rather than the private goals of the individual member or of small groups of them.

But, the reality is that in Traffic Police 'two' vary. This 'variation' struck us when we looked at the answers to questions 41 and 42 as well as the responses during the interviews. While the evidence thrown up by the two questions clearly established the magnetic pull of traffic police on the minds of the officers, the interviews brought out the reasons behind the tendency amongst officers to, first, get into traffic police and then, to stay, as far as possible, in the 'field', as opposed to the headquarters.

How disquieting can be the news of assignment to a headquarters job to some of those officers was underscored by the

*Forehand, G.A. and Gilmer, B. Von H., describe 'Organisational Climate' as a set of characteristics that: (*a*) distinguish an organisation from another, (*b*) are relatively enduring over a period of time, and (*c*) influence for behaviour of the people in the organisation. See "Environmental Variations in Studies of Organisational Behaviour", *Psychological Bulletin*, 62 (1964), p. 362.

†Creckett William J., in Chris Argyris, *Some Causes of Organisational Ineffectiveness within the Department of State, op. cit.*, p. iv.

inspector-incharge of the road safety cell at the headquarters who had held that position for many years and now stood transferred to a city police station. An inspector from one of the operational divisions who was being actively considered as a possible successor to him in the cell telephoned him to say: "Would you please try to get my name from the list scrapped ? You are so close to the Boss. Use your influence, if possible." "The prospective successor was in a very uncomfortable mental state", the interviewee told us.

At least some of the officers we talked to on this subject were surprisingly frank and forthright and readily admitted that making some 'extra money' while being in the 'field' was the most dominating motive. As one of them remarked:

A prevailing slogan in the traffic police is : Make hay while the sun shines, for you might not come back to it for a long time.

The utter frustration of the head constable who had managed, after considerable effort, to land himself in traffic police was revealed when he confessed to his immediate superior, a sub-inspector :

I have a daughter of marriageable age and I came to traffic in search of some money. But all my hopes stand dashed because with three years already wasted in the road safety cell, I should be gone to another unit any day.

The commentary offered by the head constable's feelings echoes the sentiments of many a head constable and other ranks in traffic police.

The desire to earn this 'extra money' in traffic is not only 'individual' but also a product of the 'informal group life'. It was not difficult to understand how these groups get generated and then get going, particularly in the operational divisions.

As is natural to happen, all these men, once in traffic police must meet and interact with each other frequently when they are thrown together in a division/circle/zone. When the frequency of this interaction increases, it is apparent that

acquaintances/ friendships would result. These acquaintances get further cemented because of the 'individual' and 'group' need for and easy accessibility to 'extra money' in the traffic police. In any case, most of them would have already met in the past in the mainstream of Delhi Police and then parted as a result of transfer from one unit to another. Within traffic they, once again, begin to flit from group to group (zone to zone or circle to circle) where the 'personal culture' and the 'group culture' are the same, only the name of the circle or the zone changes. No wonder when the circle team splits in the morning to their respective vantage points in the area, the 'formal' goals of the group keep switching and inter-changing with the 'individual' and the 'informal group' goals during the course of the day—depending, of course, on the likely or unlikely-hood of the legal risk of being exposed by a road-user or being caught red-handed. For, as a writer on orgnisations reminds us : "Goals not only influence cultures, but are influenced by them."*

So far as the 'group money' is concerned, there is a highly organised structure for its distribution amongst the members. According to four sub-inspectors and two inspectors, usually, it is a head-constable who collects the money and then goes about distributing 'equal' shares to his officers, keeping a portion of the booty to himself. Approximately, "eighty per cent of my colleagues benefit from these collections", one of them said.

If any credence is put on the statement of that sub-inspector, it shows that there are some 'isolates' as well, and not every one in traffic is for his individual or private 'gain'. Two sub-inspectors and one inspector, two of them graduates and one an M.A. seemed to corroborate the above statement by a sub-inspector when they observed : "There are quite a few people who did not subscribe to these 'goings-on' but felt obliged to fall in line with these group pressures because of low salaries. If the salaries were raised, they would reject these pressures of life in police".

*Handy, Charles, B., *Understanding Organisations*, Penguin Books, Middlesex, England, 1976, p. 190.

As compared to the district police, where the social system stands stratified rigidly and where there is a great emphasis on authority of the superior within these three ranks, the social system in traffic is largely exempt from this pattern of superior-subordinate relationship. The environment in traffic de-emphasizes any such stratification primarily because of the frequency of interaction amongst these men and the similarity of their tasks. Indeed, there is considerable *bon homie* amongst men in these ranks in Traffic.

An interesting sidelight of these 'informal groupings' and their 'traditions' is that when an officer receives his periodical transfer orders from the headquarters, the 'takeover' ritual includes *not* any briefing of the responsibilities, *i.e.*, things already done in the zone/circle, things half-done, or to be done, but an oral list of transporters or other sources (permanent or temporary) of 'extra money' in the area.

Another characteristic of the 'living system' of the Delhi Traffic Police is the special position that the *chittah munshi* in the circles has come to acquire by virtue of his unique placement in the work-flow network. He is the official who maintains the *roznamcha* (Duty Roster of all the men in a circle), and controls information about the deployment of manpower in the area. Hence, when a sub-inspector, assistant sub-inspector, a head-constable or a constable needs leave (whatever be the length—an hour, a few hours, a day, a week or more than that), they must move through the *munshi*. In an organisation where a weekly-off is not a certainty, in which one cannot leave one's zone/circle without permission of the superiors, and where the doctrine of discipline clearly states that the entire time of a policeman is at the disposal of the organisation, the urge to have a few free hours, or to leave the station to meet the family living away from the city, is always dominant amongst members of the workforce. If one can work out a cordial relationship with the *chittah munshi*, it helps, because he can show favours to some against the others. Thus, human needs and human behaviour, controlled by these needs, has brought into being a small social system which revolves around the *chittah munshi*. Gifts (may be *desi ghee** from the village) and favours thus get exchanged

*Butter-Oil.

between 'someone' who has the power of patronage and 'those' who need it. Many officers testified that there are men who are always helped or given more holidays than others by the *chittah munshi*. The practice leads to friction amongst members of a team which is supposed to achieve organisation goals as 'one man'. Although, formally, the inspector/circle incharge is supposed to take all these decisions but, informally, the authority has slipped to an official who is much inferior in rank, seniority, and wages to his commanding officers. Many officers referred to this 'informal organisation' as a 'sore point' in the formal organisation of a circle.

Some of the widespread beliefs which permeate the entire organisation and govern the perceptions and behaviour of the men are :

1. Headquarters staff (and within them, those closer to the top bosses) are always 'over-rated' and hence, 'over-rewarded' (in respect of, say, commendation certificates); the field staff, on the contrary, are always 'under-rated' and, hence, 'under-rewarded'.

2. Bosses are rather hard in matters, such as, grant of leave. When one falls sick, two 'fears' grip a subordinate simultaneously ; (1) the fear of illness, and (2) the fear of boss and his reaction.

3. Sensitivity to the feelings and reactions of the sub-ordinates is not held important by most of those who are in supervisory positions.

4. Bosses are not 'people-oriented'. They are only 'task-oriented'.

5. Orders/directives/generally take a long time to travel from top to bottom. An officer summed it up by giving an example which, he said, 'is flashing in my mind right now'.
   In the recent past Delhi Administration of which Delhi Police is a part and parcel declared holidays for its employees on two occasions : Once, when Lord Mountbatten died and, again, when a serving Executive Councillor expired. Most employees of Delhi Administration stayed back home—as is the

general attitude and practice—when the news about their deaths and holidays came on the radio. But, here at the police headquarters, we not only reported for work (though one hardly did any work) but were also kept waiting for the holiday orders until late in the afternoon. My room buzzed, all the day long, with a series of unspeakable curses upon the management.

Here is another typical comment made by many of them :

In a formal organisation, with its chain of command, rules/regulations and procedures, it is legitimate for employees to be automatically informed or notified, whithin a reasonable period of time, with whatever action has been taken on their applications regarding, say, loan against provident fund or any other matter or grievance. But, in the police department nothing would ever move (not even a routine trifling, like, an application for leave) unless you chase up the matter personally and persistently, at various levels and stages of its travel up and down the hierarchy.

□

PUTTING IT ALL TOGETHER : MAJOR FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS*

The purpose of the study, it may be recalled, was *inter alia*, to "lay bare, as far as possible, the attitudes/feelings/ emotions of these police officers towards their jobs, management policies and practices, and the organisation, as a whole". With that end in view, it was possible to collect fairly detailed information on a broad range of critical factors, such as, promotional opportunities, promotion policy/criteria, holidays, uniforms, salary, leadership, training, working conditions, temptations in the form of 'corruption', court delays, and several others which seem to affect the attitudes and organisational behaviour of these men.

What is the final picture that slowly emerges from their answers to the 46-item Questionnaire, replies given in the course of interviews with 25 of them, and our own observations of the work-environment of the 'living system' called, Delhi traffic police.

We are afraid, the picture, on the whole (as revealed by the data) is *not* one of willing cooperation, initiative and enthusiasm on the part of these officers. On the contrary, it is one of apathy, indifference and even bitterness. The work-ethic amongst them is rather weak and the mood of the average officer can be said to be one of 'depression'.

One way to get at the 'what and why' of the 'depression' of these 85 per cent of the three-level total strength is to understand the 'perceptions' of these officers of their work-environment, for we cannot appreciate their behaviour or

*Most of the recommendations made here are tailor-made to the particular needs of the Traffic Police and, therefore, have no carry-over value for other Units of Delhi Police. But, there are some generalized observations/recommendations, scattered through this Chapter which can be used for improvements elsewhere in the total system.

attitudes unless we see 'things' as they see them. Commenting on an employee's perceptions of his own 'needs' and those of his organisations, H.M.P. Rush informs us :

> Since his human needs are more important and more relevant to the individual, his first concern is their realization—*not* the realization of the organization's needs, if the management's objectives are perceived as taking precedence over personal needs. If the individual perceives that organizational objectives are placed before his personal needs, the psychological energy he possesses may be directed toward personal dissatisfaction, apathy, conflict, tension, or overt subversion of the organization's objectives.[1]

What are those 'more important and relevant needs' of these police officers whose realisation seems to be their 'first concern' rather than those of Delhi traffic police ? In order to know them, let us turn our attention to their most pressing 'needs', as thrown up by this study.

1. PROMOTIONAL OPPORTUNITIES

Promotionwise most (pp. 96-97) seem to look toward the future rather pessimistically and our impression is that the promotion prospects are proving depressing for many of them. When an officer is allowed to languish in the rank he held when he joined the police (or the rank he was promoted to last) for as long periods as 10-12 years, the interest in job is sure to lessen and inertia likely to set in. Amongst the several advances that behavioural sciences have brought forth in the understanding of organisational behaviour is that a man's behaviour at a particular moment is usually governed by his strongest need/s (Maslow) and one of the strongest need, as the study discovers, amongst these men is : Somewhat quicker promotions than what the existing system allows today.

During the interviews, quite a few traffic inspectors—the outposts of the traffic police—grew emotional whenever the subject of 'promotions' was raised, and one of the repetitious complaint made by them was that the meeting of the DPC

(Departmental Promotion Committee) had not taken place for the last five years. Let alone promotion, these delays (if true), in themselves, appear to be the excuse for some of them to withdraw their labour from their jobs. It need hardly be stressed that when the job-commitment of the leadership at the circle level (TIs) is itself low, the effects are sure to filter down to the crew below, namely, the zonal officers (sub-inspectors and assistant sub-inspectors).

Moreover, dynamic leadership can be developed only when the organisation tries to catch the men when they: (1) are young, and (2) are psychologically anxious to take greater responsibility. It is too late if frustrations have already got in and their sense of initiative is lost. A sub-inspector spoke thus :

> I entered police with the belief that with my educational background I had much to contribute to my organisation and that my efforts would win early recognition and timely promotion. The thought that such people are not wanted in the police never crossed my mind.

In our view it is no use trivialising this problem by the management, for this seems to be causing a great deal of job-dissatisfaction amongst these men. Behavioural scientists suggest that promotion is a 3-dimensional variable, having a potential psychological, sociological, and economic impact simultaneously and is, therefore, a crucially-important factor for an employee so far as his attitudes toward job are concerned.

Some of the police officers, of course, suggested 'time-bound' promotions for them, as in the army. But, we suspect such a practice in police might prove to be counter-productive (for example, it could lead to a new work-ethic, *i.e.*, no regard for work, for one is sure to get a promotion anyway).

Recommendation :

The least the management should do is to open up more avenues of promotion at the SI, TI and ACP levels. Alternatively, long pay-scales for each level can be introduced to avoid stagnation; or the conventional rank-title

'Inspector' can be split in two ranks, namely, 'Inspector-Grade I' and 'Inspector-Grade II' and salaries realistically reflecting the workload and responsibilities of the two grades be set accordingly.

Before a sub-Inspector or an Inspector has the opportunity to advance to the next higher position, attendance of a specially-designed management training courses conducted by *an outside body*, should be made compulsory for him. The course should end with a written and oral test in subjects, such as, behavioural sciences and others related to practical police work. The results of these examinations would then be used for evaluating the fitness of a candidate for promotion.

2. PROMOTION POLICY/CRITERIA

It is not merely the infrequent promotions in police that is a major source of job-dissatisfaction for these officers but, as this research indicates, their perceptions of the promotion policy/criteria of Delhi Police is yet another reason which seems to be responsible for their alienation towards work.

But, whatever be the critical judgments expressed by the respondents on the existing promotion criteria, followed by the management, the fact remains that as a single, static set of promotion standards (based upon annual confidential report, seniority, commendation certificates/good entries, absence of punishment, sports, interview) *universally* applied to all inspectors, sub-inspectors, irrespective of the unit they are working for, the nature of goals of that unit, and the type of work they are performing, it does not seem to fit the realities of the varying settings and situations these units represent. To put it differently, the existing appraisal system for promotion purposes is not tailored to : (*a*) the kind of organisation (DAP, or Security, or District Police, or Traffic Police and so on), and (*b*) the work being done by an officer. If the tasks differ, the promotion criteria, too, should differ.

For example, a closer scrutiny of the special nature of the work being done by the traffic police would show that, in many respects, it has a special character of its own—distinct from the other units of Delhi police, and, therefore, a common

promotion criteria which could be applicable to other units put together, might not necessarily be applicable to men in traffic.

Take the 'District Police' : it is absolutely clear that traffic police do not exist to deal with the machinations of the members of the underworld, such as, burglary, assault, murder, vandalism, etc., as the district police do (of course, the traffic police are indirectly responsible for 'life and death' situations, resulting from road-accidents but, surely, they are not the same as those the district police are concerned with). Amongst the type of people the traffic police, on the other hand, have to deal with are the highly sophisticated population of the city—diplomats, foreign tourists, to mention a few groups. Traffic police has a role which is, basically, one of education and persuasion, rather than of intimidation. Besides, traffic officers are not armed, as most of their counterparts in the district police are.

Again, the basic duty of, say, an upper or lower subordinate in the CID, is one of 'shadowing' suspects. But, here in traffic the job is just the opposite—that of being 'visible' to all the people all the time and helping them to be safe and mobile on the road. Moreover, their job is one of dealing with a vast multitude of people, rather, than just a few thousands, and there is a greater face-to-face contact and interaction by the traffic men with those whom they serve.

Consider also the 'Delhi Armed Police' (DAP) which is called out for action only when there is some disturbance or a riot in some area of the city. But, for traffic police, the 'action' is out there on the roads and the streets every minute of the day. There is yet another important difference. DAP has a para-military image about it whereas the traffic police is free from any such reputation.

Generally speaking, men in traffic are engaged in tasks which are, as compared to more of their counterparts in several other units, are quite physically-taxing because regulating traffic on roads is a painstaking 'leg, hand, eye and ear' work. Besides, unlike others who work 'under a roof', these are the men who are always out 'in the open', exposed to the varying climatic conditions throughout the year.

Recommendation :

1.   A fundamental fact about traffic police is that : (*a*) the nature of its work, and (*b*) the type of its clientele are different from the 'work' and 'clientele' of the other units of Delhi Police and, hence, the performance appraisal standards for purposes of promotion of its men need to be objectively developed, identified and stated in terms of the very jobs the traffic men perform and the motivations, skills and behaviours demanded by these jobs. Unless this is done (of course, the search for such a criteria could be the subject for another research study), the anti-promotion policy feelings would continue to result in poorer morale and decreased efficiency.   For example, first and foremost, it will have to be carefully examined as to what extent the present six factors are important to traffic police, as an organisation, in the measurement of the performance of its personnel. In other words, is it necessary to retain all of them, or drop some, or there are some new factors waiting to be discovered and, then, considered for this purpose.

2.   After a set of new standards for performance appraisal has been developed on these lines, then each 'performer' can be told in clear-cut terms : what is expected of him ? This should be followed up by: (*i*) a measurement plan (for example, did so-and-so get the traffic signals in his area working by such-and-such date ?), and (*ii*) a feedback and reinforcement programme. If the performance at the end of a designated period of time is found positive or improves, it would be backed up by some kind of 'reinforcement (a reward/benefit actively desired by men in traffic police, say, an extra weekly-off); if the performance does not improve, the reinforcement is withheld.

The reward/benefit shall be given on the basis of only 'individual performance'—unless of course, it is not found possible to separate it from the group performance.

The present scramble for commendation certificates, without really deserving them, is a case in point. This must be discouraged forthwith and these certificates should be given only for services and action which is clearly beyond

the call of duty. Indeed, only deeds of exceptional kind should be recognized and rewarded.

Promotion is just one powerful reinforcement. Once, only the truly meritorious are rewarded (and, conversely, the inefficient, the lazy, the incompetent punished), the men would know that inefficiency and apathy does not pay but hard work does. If everyone gets the reinforcement or the undeserving get away with it, most people would not feel motivated to work harder or better.

3. However, even if traffic police management takes action on all the points suggested above, and proceeds to pursue the new procedure in a determined manner, the question that still remains unanswered is : How would it relate it to the practices being followed in other units of Delhi Police—which may not be using similar rigorous standards for the evaluation of the work of their men.

3. HOLIDAYS/WEEKLY-OFF

Investigations show that traffic police live in an 'absentee culture' and what the management seems to be managing is 'absenteeism' and not 'attendance'. That is to say that although the actual absentee rate of the department, as a whole, might not be very high but the tendency to stay away from work—either by reporting sick when one is actually not sick or plain disregard for duties, even if physically present on duty—appears to be fairly common. Clearly, such an organizational behaviour is a reaction to the absence of a regular weekly-off as well as the presence of a climate which generally disapproves subordinates asking for leave—a policy which is bound to influence the rate of absenteeism so long as it persists. An Inspector reminisced about his days as a zonal officer in traffic many years back :

My Inspector did not trust us and would not easily give us time off as and when we wanted. So, I would often slip off from my zone to attend to urgent private business. Once I was on my way, on one of those furloughs, to the Irwin Hospital to visit an ailing relative, and as I drove through Naya Bazar area, I saw two victims of a road-accident lying

on the road-side and bleeding very badly. They and the scooter they were driving had been hit by a speeding truck. When I saw them, I was in a dilemma : to act according to my duties as a police officer and rush them to the hospital for medical help, or to ignore them to escape the possibility of being 'noticed' in another zone at a time when I was supposed to be in my own. I chose the latter course, leaving the injured behind at the mercy of the crowd there.

He added :

I felt very guilty but you cannot blame me. You must blame the organisational policies and practices which encourage such behaviour.

Needless to say, such an 'absentee culture' not only stifles an employee and weakens his commitment to job but also adds several other tangible and intangible costs to the organisation, as a whole. For instance, even if only ten per cent of the total strength of the traffic police are absent during a month, but if the remaining 90 per cent are prevented by this culture from applying their minds and hearts to their jobs, the costs to the organisation would add up to an enormous amount.

It is sad to see that while with the passage of the time, working hours are getting fewer and holidays longer all over the world, the police organisation in India is virtually stuck up in practices which have become almost a thing of the past.

Only a definite, planned, weekly-off can, to begin with, correct the existing malaise. If each person is sure of a holiday at the end of the week or is sure of getting leave as and when he genuinely needs it, favourable results both in terms of attendance and morale can be counted upon.

Looking at the small manpower available with the traffic police and the enormous routine and non-routine responsibilities it is expected to discharge, perhaps the system of 'grid' should go a long way in lessening the stresses caused by the absence of a regular weekly-off.

Recommendation :

The term 'grid' above has been applied here in the same sense it is used in the electricity/power generating system

in the modern times, *i.e.*, a system in which the total resources, say, the surplus electricity/power generated in one unit/geographical region is not only evenly distributed to demand from deficient units/areas but also in which overload is shared amongst all units, constituting the total system.

Translating the concept of 'grid' into the practical realities of traffic police, this would call for even distribution of the available human resources and facilities like weekly-offs and other holidays among all those who are currently assigned to the operational divisions (for experimental purposes, the idea is, first, suggested for implementation in these divisions; if successful, it can later be applied to the entire workforce, both at the headquarters and in the field). Briefly stated, it would mean that the separate human resources of all the four separate operational divisions would constitute a *single human resource system* from the wider perspective of all the divisions and would, thus, become and operate as 'one open system' instead of four different 'closed systems' each acting and operating—as at present—almost as a separate 'empire', insensitive to the problems and needs of the other. This does not however mean that the idea suggested would involve any structural changes in the various divisions. In fact, the various groupings of men at the zonal, circle and divisional levels, the hierarchical patterns, and the flow of command, etc., would stay as they are. The only thing that would change is that for purposes of: (*a*) manpower deployment, and (*b*) granting weekly-offs to men, all the divisions would come to think of themselves as *one single division* and would be expected to stand ready all the year round to shift the available resources into a new pattern, so as to allow: (*a*) rushing of men where they are needed most, and (*b*) letting everyone at least one definite weekly off.

Such a plan would also compel the divisions to lift their eye-sights from their narrow, segmented interests and make them learn to take a total view of the total needs of the total system—a requirement which is urgently called for in larger bureaucracies, such as, police, today.

·. UNIFORMS

Another organisational factor that seems to cause wide-spread dissatisfaction amongst the police officers is: the 'departmentally-supplied uniforms'. They are dissatisfied both with the 'cut' and the 'quality of material' (cotton). If this is the attitude of the police personnel working in other units of Delhi Police as well (including the constabulary who also, for the same reasons, were reported to look down upon their cotton uniforms), the meaning is clear : an absolute waste of money over something that is loathed by the men.

The average cost of a cotton uniform, turned out by the department, is Rs. 232, and every year it must be spending quite a sum on them. By continuing with its present policy of providing cotton uniforms, Delhi Police are in fact, paying twice over : *first*, in terms of 'waste of money', and *second*, 'low morale of the men'. Management would do well not to overlook the hidden costs.

When it was suggested to one of the officers that perhaps it is only a matter of time before the authorities switch to terrycot uniforms, he replied:

We too have been hearing about the terrycot uniforms for a long time but no one really knows how long it would take for them to roll off the desks of the bureaucracy.

Recommendation :

The simplest thing to do in this regard would be to give all the men an allowance for uniforms as given to the IPS officers.

5. SALARY

Herzberg reported long back that :

As an affector of job-attitudes, salary has more potency as a job-dissatisfier than as a job-satisfier…. Salary permeates the thoughts and expressions of people when they view their jobs.[2]

Analysis of the expressions of the people under study revealed that 'salary' was one of the most important factors

which did act to dissatisfy a majority of them, for the dominant view (68%) was that they were underpaid.

Associating 'salary' with 'rank' it was also found during the interviews that it was particularly irritating to the Inspectors, and their common complaint was :

> Come and study our workload, and you will find we are loaded with a lot of responsibility, held accountable for the action or inaction of everyone below us, and have to cope with several other headaches. But just weigh all these against the salary we are paid : it is far less.

Inadequacy of salaries is perhaps one element of police personnel management which appears to be pretty old in the history of the Indian Police. Writing as back as 1932, J.C. Curry noted :

> The Police Commission of 1902 warned the Government of India of the dangers arising from inadequate pay in the police, and an improvement was affected soon afterwards. Subsequent improvements in nominal pay failed from time to time to keep pace with the fall in the purchasing power of the rupee.[3]

While commenting on the half-hearted efforts made in India in this connection since then, Khosla Police Commission (1971) observed:

> . . . this starving of the police has now continued for over a century and if the police of India, particularly the Delhi Police are expected to feel respectable citizens, they must be given adequate wages which will go a long way to bring about the essential psychological change amongst the police and the public.[4]

Indeed, it seems as if to pay inadequate salaries to the police personnel has always been the hallmark of the community's attitude towards the police in India. Highlighting the salary differentials between a 'municipal sweeper' (8 hours work, with trade union rights) and a 'police constable'

(24-hour duty, with no right to strike), a retired Indian police executive wrote recently that the former was paid "Rs. 100 or Rs. 200 more per month" than the latter. In his view :

> The situation in respect of sub-inspectors is somewhat but not materially different from that of the constables.[5]

Commenting on how the community has continued to react with non-understanding to the legitimate grievances of the subordinate personnel, and viewing the problem from a large perspective, the former police executive added :

> My frank opinion is that if so many police commissions (which were all on State-basis) have not succeeded in improving the police image, the main reason is that they have scrupulously avoided consideration of fair pay-scales for the lower ranks. In fact, there has been a uniform shyness to tackle this issue. The reasons for it are known but they do not convince. Financial liability cannot and should not be the sole consideration for its exclusion. There should also be no sly attempt to exploit the knowledge that the police forces, being under strict discipline, will not cause that trouble which has been caused by certain groups in the society such as industrial workers, government servants (other than the police), bankmen, etc.[6]

Because of this lack · of concern for the inadequate salaries of the lower ranks, the former police executive also foresaw the possibility of the conclusions of the All-India Police Commission (1979) being rejected by these men :

> The Central Government has recently appointed an All-India Police Commission but its terms of reference do not include the provision of adequate pay-scales. I am afraid, this omission, whatever its reasons, might reduce the value of its conclusions and they are likely to be ignored by the lower ranks.[7]

Recommendation :

Though it is too well known to be repeated that money alone does not motivate, but the corollary that

'insufficient money' can give rise to job-dissatisfaction is often forgotten.

We believe the time has now come to give these first-line supervisors in the police a fair-day's-wage for a fair-day's work. The community cannot expect them to act as its principal agents for preservation of law and order in the society and also discharge a host of other arduous responsibilities, and yet pay them the salaries of electricians, plumbers and bus-drivers. As the Khosla Police Commission rightly observed : "...if a complete break is to be made from the present state of affairs, we must take bold steps and provide adequate pay scale for the police force of Delhi."

What is a fair-day's-wage for them—we can only quote what Weston and Fraley suggest :

...salaries should be set at levels which will provide workers with a living standard equal to the social and occupational status of the work performed.[8]

6. LEADERSHIP

Leadership is a variable of key significance because the style (or styles) of leadership used in an organization can affect the success or failure of the whole organization. The 'style' a particular superior (whatever level) clings to would determine, to a large extent, not only certain assumptions he makes about the people he supervises (if 'authoritarian', for example, he would tend to believe that most people avoid work and, therefore, if work is to be extracted from them, they must be directed and/or coerced. This leads to a particular type of behavioural climate in the team-work and, in the entire organisation, if most bosses are authoritarian), but also his perceptions of the organisational world around him.

Although many models of organisational leadership have appeared in the management literature during the past several decades but our discussions with the traffic police officers (during the days we were trying to get a feel of the symptoms of organisational ineffectiveness in order to formulate the Questionnaire for this study) indicated that only

three of them, by and large, dominated the management of traffic police, namely: (1) authoritarian, (2) democratic, and (3) *laissez faire*. The two questions on 'leadership' in the Questionnaire (Nos. 33 to 34) were, thus, structured accordingly.

According to the results provided by the questions, two essential groups of respondents clearly emerge : (1) those who prefer 'authoritarian style' and therefore would feel more comfortable carrying out the orders of their superiors (30%); and (2) those who prefer 'democratic style' (70%)—characterized by involvement of juniors in official plans and their implementation. However, when attention is focused on their testimony with respect to the way they perceived the actual styles of their present leaders (ACPs and above), we discovered that the predominant trend indicated by them is a mix of authoritarian and *laissez faire* styles (58% and 16%), as against 21 per cent who reported the actual styles as democratic.

However, what is immediately apparent is that a majority of the men are for 'democratic style' of leadership and a notable feature of this data is that, as said earlier, all the university graduates (38) in the sample of the study voted for it without exception.

Why this preference for 'democratic style' by the university-educated ?

Perhaps one interpretation could be that some 30 years back there was not much education amongst the upper and lower subordinates in the police because the educational standard for entry into police was 'matric' or 'below matric'. Besides, what was basically required of a police recruit then was : physical fitness. Thus, an authoritarian type of leadership easily fitted in. But today, 30 years later, things stand fundamentally changed. Increasingly, across the nation, with the spread of literacy, we are getting men and women with higher qualifications. Indeed, if we look at the police force itself today and compare it with the police force of the pre-Independence days, there is a marked rise in the calibre of men and women entering the police department (educational qualifications for entry into police were upgraded in 1954).

But, does every university-educated person automatically

come to accept or prefer a democratic style of leadership?

Not necessarily. However, it can be reasonably inferred that, other things being equal, most university—educated (if not all) are likely to emphasise this style of leadership for they are better-informed (than those who studied only up to high school) and are, thus better equipped to take wider perspective of life. According to O.W. Wilson (and his co-author, R. C. McLaren), the widely-kown American expert on police administration, the university-educated people :

> ... have had broader experience with people and new situations, and their adaptability has been tested; they have also had the opportunity to meet students of many different nationalities, and their backgrounds, and racial characteristics, ... Their studies will have given them a new perspective on the problems and aspirations common to all people and they will have learned to some degree to withhold judgment and to restrain their actions and impulses in favour of clear consideration and analysis.[9]

In any case, whatever shade of interpretation is put on the responses, it is clear that when most people in a unit or an organisation say that they prefer 'democratic leadership', then the management has got to explore ways and means whereby those who are placed in the leadership jobs (including the ones who happen to be the objects of this study) are thoroughly exposed to the philosophy of democratic leadership.

The obvious solution to the problem here appears to be : Leadership Training—in other words, of changing the 'personalities' of the supervisory staff in Delhi traffic police.

But, asserts Perrow :

> Sometimes inappropriate people are, indeed, misplaced in leadership roles. But it is equally possible to design a leadership role for which it will be hard to find any appropriate person. The real problem may lie in the structure of the organisation. ...[10]

By structure of the organisation, Perrow means 'roles' formally designed for the supervisory staff, the relationships of groups to each other, the degree of centralisation and decentralisation, and the whole climate of values and expectations and goals in the organisation—something which will occasionally be referred to as the 'character' of the organisation. He, therefore, suggests that:

> . . . the first question to be asked is whether the structure of the organisation, or unit, or role, is the appropriate one for the tasks being demanded.[11]

John Child also raises a similar question :

> It is always worthwhile asking the question whether structure, management policies or other circumstances could be having an effect on the personal behaviour one first observes to be the problem. It is in any case extremely difficult to change personalities, and unreasonable to expect people to cope with a badly-structured situation— it may be much easier to change organization instead.[12]

A simple answer to this question is that so far as the Delhi traffic police is concerned, its role designs, its reporting relationships, the rules and regulations, the processes— dubbed as the character of the organisation—all have their origin in the larger system, namely, Delhi Police, and are imported into traffic police, including the largest and the most precious 'input'—the officers and the men.

Hence, unless a massive attempt is made to alter the structure of the larger system, *i.e.*, Delhi Police, there is not much scope for changing the structure (and thereby, the leadership styles of people) in traffic police.

There is yet another difficulty. To quote Perrow again :

> One may attempt to change an individual's personality and attitudes in the hope or expectation that the result will be change in behaviour. But this is difficult to accomplish, especially in organisations. We have few proven

techniques, they are expensive, and we know that relapses to old ways are common.[13]

Knowing as we do the complex relationship between the traffic police (sub-system) and the Delhi Police (system), particularly the long-standing practice to periodically transfer men from one unit to another, the chances of 'relapses to old ways' are really enormous. For, what if a sub-inspector in traffic police, after being thoroughly exposed to the theory of democratic leadership, later goes to work for, say, Delhi Armed Police, where he finds himself, once again, locked up both 'structurally' and 'psychologically' in the old-school philosophy and his superiors there seem to believe that organisational interests are best served only if they stick to the 'authoritarian' style.

Perrow does yield some ground to the advocates of 'leadership training' when he says :

Training in human relations skills, injunctions to 'delegate' or to be sensitive to human needs do no harm in some organisations where conditions are truly poor, they may do quite a bit of good.[14]

But, he is quick to point out :

Attempts to change personality and attitudes can go only so far and, besides, they are costly.[15]

Finally, citing the findings of several research studies, he concludes his argument to say :

Designing and managing the structure of the organisation is the key. Behaviour evoked by such devices as rules, role prescriptions, reward structures, and lines of communications, is reinforced daily and becomes part of the stable expectations of employees. It is possible to design jobs, or roles, for the average person (assuming a given level of training and experience) rather than to expect an individual to have super human qualities to fill an impossible role.[16]

Recommendation :

'Leadership training' is undoubtedly useful but this would

merely aim at providing the theoretical and intellectual knowledge necessary to practice the skill. For example, those who believe that democratic style in traffic police would yield better results, a systematic exposure to the philosophy of this style would be helpful, lest the impression goes round that democratic leadership means soft-management or just human relations or letting anybody do anything he or she likes. This would not however be sufficient, for so far we have talked only of skill/knowledge (what to do) but not of operational/practical life (how to do it). And that is the reason why Perrow warns : Leadership style is a dependent variable (*i.e.*, depending upon or following from something)—'something' being the setting or the task which is the independent variable.

7. TRAINING

Reviewing the questionnaire data, our own observations, and our detailed discussions with the chief liaison officer who is incharge of the training activity, it seems to us :

1. There is a dichotomy in the orientation of those 'above' and those 'below' so far as they look at 'training' as an organisational activity and its worth, value or significance in the scheme of things. For example, while the top management is very aggressive about the need for and enrichment of training, the trainees and some of the trainers have a rather passive orientation about it.

2. Training given to all the men and officers is, by and large 'packaged'. That is, it is not tailored to the needs and requirements of the different levels of officials —the constables and head constables, on the one hand, and the ASIs, SIs inspectors, on the other.

3. Training, as organised at present, is haphazard for a variety of reasons, most of which are beyond the control of those in charge of it. The intake of trainees (upper and lower subordinates, and constables and head constables transferred to traffic police, from time to time) occurs at irregular intervals. The trainers do

not normally know when they will have the new men available for training so they can't plan for them. Nor is it possible for them, in such a state of affairs, to put their training efforts on a systematic and continuous footing. The usual practice is to wait until the new arrivals accumulate to a certain viable number.

4. Instructions in the training programmes are largely given by 'lay' trainers who happen to be none else than the inspectors and sub-inspectors working in the field or at headquarters, prior to their posting to road safety education cell.

5. Assignment to road safety education cell is regarded as an unpleasant task (even as punishment by some) by most of the upper and lower subordinates.

6. Those who fill the cell at any given time are subject, like their counterparts in other units of Delhi Police, to a constantly rotating transfer system of Delhi Police and thus appear to lack commitment to training—a necessary pre-condition to turning it into an effective instrument.

7. There is almost a long-standing taboo on the training of the officers of the rank of assistant commissioner. The implied assumption seems to be that they do not need any training.

8. The already scarce facilities of the cell (both physical and instructional) are at times over-taxed by the additional responsibility of training the prospective drivers for DTC, etc.

9. Training lasts for three full days. This, in our view, is hardly an ideal period for altering attitudes/percep-tions of the new arrivals, much less to prepare a dynamic traffic police service. There is need to adopt 'cyclic' training to reinforce the initial training of three days.

10. The existing training programme—as a reading of the syllabus suggests—stresses more the 'immediate work-tasks'. Only a small percentage of time is devoted to widening the general awareness of the trainees.

Any attempt to improve training in traffic police will go awry if the implications of 'what is training' are not clearly understood by all concerned. Training has been defined as "the process of teaching, informing or educating people so that: (1) they may "become as well qualified as possible to do their work; and (2) they may become qualified to perform in positions of greater difficulty and responsibility".[17]

Thus, if one of the purposes of training is to—as said above—render people "as well qualified as possible *to do their work*", we might first ask ourselves as to what is the 'work' of an ideal inspector/sub-inspector/assistant sub-inspector in traffic police so that training can be built around the very characteristics of that 'work'. An answer to this query, as is obvious, must spring from the set of behaviours or demands which traffic police, as an organisation, considers desirable and makes on its men in their work situation.

Demands of job in traffic police, it appears, place a special premium on :

1. *Better education, i.e.,* to understand the uniqueness of traffic police, its place in the city life, and the contribution it can make in improving the whole character of life-style of the people ; in other words, their ability to look beyond one's immediate job, work-group, and organisation.

2. *Physical Stamina, i.e.,* to prepare for the stresses and strains of standing-duty and for being alert all the time.

3. *Emotional stability, i.e.,* to deal with thousands of people of all cultural and educational backgrounds.

4. *Interpersonal human skills, i.e.,* to be courteous in one's behaviour to road-users, answer their queries politely and to appreciate the importance of cooperation from the community.

5. *Leadership qualities, i.e.,* to control and direct the work/energies of small groups of people under them.

6. *Initiative and innovative ability, i.e.,* to constantly search out traffic problems on one's own initiative, and seek their solutions, and, last but not the least—

7. *Full understanding and knowledge,* of all those activities

that make up the work one is expected to do.

Having defined the 'demands of traffic job', it is now possible to concentrate on the components of training.

Recommendation :

Training for traffic may be broadly organised on the following lines :

1. Orientation training ; and
2. Job training.

Orientation Training

The first and foremost objective of this component of training would be to orient every new man entering Delhi traffic police about the organisation. *This would be given to everyone, who comes to work for traffic police, at and up to the levels of ACPs.* Even the typist, the clerk and so on, must be formally trained and not just allowed to pick things up under the 'eyes' of the supervisor who himself may not clearly understand the role of the organisation. The purpose would be to sensitize him to the philosophy of traffic police, its objectives, its structure, its limited resources and the enormity of the tasks involved. It would attempt to familiarise the trainee with : how traffic police is organised, the role of a division head, of a circle incharge, a zonal officer and how the various job tasks roles and organisational goals are related to each other, and, finally with the inter-relationship between the traffic police as a 'system' and the larger systems (Delhi Police, and the Community) of which it is a part.

We should like to place particular emphasis on this component because, as far as we can see, the primary objective of training in traffic should be to change a man's behaviour in a manner so as to fit him in a new work-situation. For, it is quite apparent that when an officer is transferred to traffic from another unit of Delhi Police, it follows that the 'role' he would be playing henceforth would be very much, if not *totally*, different from the role he was playing until then. If, for example, the role of a sub-inspector in

district police was that of investigating crime, or even using violence against a drunkard or a pick-pocket (if attacked by the latter), in traffic it would, by and large, be of 'politely' dealing with traffic offenders, issuing them challans or of educating road-users on road safety. But, when a person from district police land in traffic, he tends to bring with him certain pre-conception. ideas of things, men, habits and practices of the unit, nay, of the many units – he might have imbibed in his earlier postings. Hence, a basic objective of the orientation training would be to help the new man 'unlearn' some of the ideas/things (unless he happens to be a new recruit) that might have been considered fundamental to his role in another setting but are now *irrelevant* to the new role. This re-orientation or re-education must go on through cyclical training/lecture-discussions unless he has accepted and internalised the philosophy and goals of traffic police.

Special emphasis on the 'orientation' part sounds convincing not only because it stands up to reason but also because it is compatible with the findings of an earlier study (1979) which showed that few people in traffic police understood the philosophy and fewer still were clear about the goals of the organisation.[18]

Job Training

The second component, *viz.*, 'job training' would focus on issues, such as, 'how to do the job' a man is likely to be assigned to. The intention would be to equip him with full knowledge and understanding of his job so as to make him fully productive.

As is obvious, job-training would be different for different groups of officials, depending upon the type of knowledge and skills demanded by their jobs. For example, syllabus for the *Assistant commissioners*, should include topics

Planning,
Decision-making,
Communication,
Motivation,

like :

> Evaluation,
> Leadership,
> Police-Community relations.

The emphasis in their case would be on 'planning' and 'conceptual' activities and their greater concern would be the achievement of the broader goals of traffic police.

As we descend the hierarchical ladder from the assistant commissioner level to that of an inspector or circle in-charge, it appears that the latter spends more time with his men (sub-Inspectors/ASIs, head constables and constables) to carry out specific activities and is concerned with direction of daily traffic operations (regulation and enforcement) in his area. Since he is involved in manpower deployment and its utilisation, we see more of 'personnel management-oriented activities' on his part. Hence, syllabus for *Inspectors/circles-incharge* shall include :

> Human relations skills
> Motivation
> Grievance handling
> Discipline
> Training needs
> plus
> all those relevant topics which form part of the syllabus being followed already.

A zonal officer (SIs and ASIs) is also a first-line superior and most of his time is spent on 'doing' things in his respective zone. Since he too has to manage human resources (head constables and constables) and is also one of the future inspectors, it is only appropriate that all of them are exposed to the same kind of training, as spelt out for the inspectors.

Apart from the above, information on working hours, conditions of work in traffic police, the commendation certificates and how does one earn them, the code of ethics, knowledge of traffic laws and various Acts—would also be covered by this component of training.

All traffic personnel (particularly the constables and head constables) must also be trained to behave politely with members of the public. This message has to be instilled in the minds of the men from the very day they step into the traffic police and must not be allowed to forget it.

So far as the head constables and constables are concerned, the syllabus being followed at present seems to be adequate. As a general rule, however, it may be mentioned that if a particular task/job is in the field, then class-room training should always be supplemented by training in the field.

Suggested above are only the salient areas of curriculum. The traffic police would have to sort out a right mix as well as the period of time required to suit the needs of a particular level of officers. There is nothing sacrosanct about the curriculum suggested. For example, changes in the methodology of controlling and regulating traffic in the city in future (say, increasing use of TV cameras) might call for appropriate modifications in it.

Training Methods

The two predominant training methods being employed at present are : Lecture-discussion, and Films. While use of these should continue, but adoption of the "Case Study Method" wherever appropriate, is also recommended. This method has two variations :

1. Case Studies, and
2. Incident Process.

The former refers to the 'cases' based upon actual experience of traffic police officers or typical problem situation in the field or at headquarters. The experiences or problems may relate to traffic flow in a congested area, human relations, or implementation of wrong/right decision, etc. The method is credited with helping participants gain in analytical and problem-solving abilities. The latter, *i.e.*, 'incident process', is very similar to the case studies method. This involves providing the trainees with a short description of an 'incident' in a couple of paragraphs. The trainees then try to get all the pertinent facts from the instructor of the case and decide

upon the nature of the problem and come to a decision. The emphasis in this method is on developing the ability to ask the right questions, for seeking right information bearing on a particular problem.

We believe that adoption of these two methods would raise the quality of training for traffic officers.

Another serious problem that the management faces is the tendency on the part of the most men (transferred to traffic) to view their posting to the road safety cell as a kind of "drop out as soon as possible" rather than as a "drop in and stay as long as possible" opportunity. The problem, to our mind, is not merely of motivation but also of skill and several other attributes.

Addressing itself to the same problem, a report titled "Police Training and Performance Study", submitted to the New York Police Department in September, 1970 estimated :

> Police Instructors, like teachers in any subject-matter area, should possess several qualities : subject-matter competence, mastery of teaching techniques, creativeness, the habit of evaluation, a desire to teach...

We are by now already familiar with the fact that the men eventually picked up for training assignments in the road safety cell scarcely measure up to these rigorous standards. Indeed, serious doubts exist if they ever will, so long as the existing personnel policy of the Delhi Police is based upon the assumptions that anybody who is good at wielding a lathi or using a gun can also be an effective teacher in the classroom. For the time being, therefore, it would be of help if the traffic police management insist on two minimum qualities : namely, (1) competence in the subject-matter, and (2) commitment to training. Finally, if they truly want to shape up their future instructors on the the abovesaid lines, and if this assignment is to be changed from one of 'running away' to that of being 'sought after', the 'status' and the 'pay' of all those who are used as instructors/teachers in the road safety cell must be raised.

8. WORKING CONDITIONS

A very important factor, though seemingly overlooked by the management, which is the source of 'dissatisfaction' to a large majority of the officers, is : the 'working conditions'. As their responses amply showed, the dissatisfactions in this area seem to stem from a variety of sources, such as, physical conditions surrounding their work : rules/procedures/control system operating in Delhi Police : non-availability of equipment like wireless sets to the zonal officers; crowded conditions in the office-rooms at the headquarters; broken, badly-scarred furniture in the offices of the inspectors; and difference in treatment *vis-a-vis* (SHOs) in district police; short supply of certain stationery items; and so on.

There is no gainsaying the fact that while squalid physical environment can often adversely affect the job-attitudes and, thereby, contribute to the overall job-dissatisfaction; good house-keeping, on the other hand, can not only keep the moral high but also encourage efficiency. Indeed, pleasant physical sourroundings of an organisation are, in a way, indicative of the concern of the management for those who work for it as well as those it is expected to serve. Let not this be forgotten that an employee spends most of his waking time at work and it is therefore but natural that his job-attitudes, and his output are, to a certain degree, influenced by the environment he works in[19].

In the modern times, when the working environments even in some of the governmental organisations—one has only to see the insides of the buildings of some of the public sector undertakings here in New Delhi—have vastly improved, when the office rooms, the rest rooms, the toilets are all becoming cleaner and brighter, it is only logical that careful and planned attention be paid to make the physical conditions in the police organisations better. Such surroundings will give a good impression to the members of the public who come to visit them ; they will also make a strong impression on the rank and file that the management cares. H.A. Hopf has estimated :

Savings of 20 per cent or more in clerical operating costs

can often be achieved by improvement of the physical conditions under which work is performed.[20]

It is not merely the dirty or inadequately-equipped lavatories, the quality of food or service in the canteens, or any other hazards, but the fatigue, the quality or quantity of office lighting, ventilation, humidity, noise that have been found to affect the efficiency of the employees (directly or indirectly). According to Leffingwell and Robinson :

> Even the most conscientious employee cannot do his best work if he is uncomfortable, whether he is conscious of the comfort or not.[21]

The respondents also mentioned constraints and impediments in the form of outdated rules and procedures, and delays in the flow of work (files/notes) between traffic police and the headquarters. Several inspectors and SIs said :

> The flow of work is so much mixed up with red tape that a well-meaning person can't do his work even if he sincerely wanted to.

When caught in a web of rules and procedures which tend to slow the pace of work, people often find it difficult to enjoy work and get satisfaction from doing it. While it is understandable that in a large bureaucracy like Delhi Police (24,068 men, all ranks) certain rules/procedures and controls must be built in to ensure regularity and precision but when these rules and procedures (or the work-habits of those who operate them) come to acquire the character of being the 'ends in themselves instead of being the means' the time is ripe for a second look at them.

Recommendation :

There can be no two opinions on the fact that the men have a 'right' to decent physical conditions of work and the management have an obligation to provide them. To look at the crowded conditions at the headquarters, first: a great economy of space can result if the extraordinary large tables most men we found using are substituted with

somewhat smaller desks that would fit the type of work actually done. Windows can be fitted with curtains and some other decorative effects to create the right type of pleasant atmosphere. The offices of the TIs should be furnished with furniture of good appearance and if possible inexpensive framed poster-pictures be hung on the walls. The legal requirement on the provision of minimum number of toilets in an office block should be adhered to and the toilet rooms should be kept spotlessly clean all the day-long; at present, they need at most police stations nothing less than drastic clean-ups.

The financial powers of the deputy commissioner (traffic) should be increased to the extent possible that decisions with respect to certain financial expenditures can be taken at a level which is nearest to the place of problem.

Zonal officers, if provided with wireless sets, can not only be more useful operationally to their own organisation but also can greatly help the district police to deter crime by virtue of their presence and availability on roads and streets. Rules/procedures/control systems, wherever they interrupt and obstruct the smooth flow of work, should be identified and re-designed to accomplish the 'end-results' in a direct and speedy manner.

While clean and pleasant physical surroundings are of special importance, there is no doubt about the desirability of providing yet another facility to the men belonging to the operational division : a small room, attached to the TIs office, for their rest and recreation (pp. 111 and 112) when they are off their shift-work. This is how the Japanese police have done it :

> A koban (Japanese name for a police post in cities) is not simply a place of work ; it is a home where officers eat, sleep, and relax......Every koban has an extra room, located behind or above the main office with a raised tatami floor where officers eat their meals and rest or sleep. Some have television sets and and well-used boards and counters for playing. Meals are brought from home, then warmed up on the gas ring or sent in from nearby restaurants. Green tea

is always available, rarely coffee. During the evening and night patrolmen announce their intention to go off duty and retire to the sleeping room where they unrol mattresses and bedding provided and get three or four hours' sleep.[22]

9. LACK OF DIGNITY AND RESPECT OF SUBORDINATES

Without differentiating between rank or nature of work among the respondents, the study showed (Question 28) that, somehow, values like 'recognition of human dignity and respect due to a subordinate as an individual' do not seem to have yet taken root in the traffic police. In fact, the replies given by some of them during the interviews clearly indicated their perception of the existence of similar belief-system in the entire police environment.

One could perhaps extend this analysis further to say that in organisations which over-emphasize 'status-consciousness' or treat subordinates as 'inferior beings or automatons' rather than as human beings 'with feelings and emotions', the importance of treating lower employees with courtesy and sympathy are rather hard to come by. The use of words, such as, 'Hazur' (Master) and 'Sahib' by the subordinates, while addressing their superiors in the police organisation even today, clearly underscores the prevalance of such a climate in the police. These are not just ordinary words but are indicative of a culture, a general state of mind which draws its nourishment from certain values which are a hangover from our feudal and colonial past. Commenting on the character of the police organisation in India, S. Venugopal Rao a retired IGP says:

> The system which we have inherited as a colonial hangover has remained, more or less, the same...[23]

Indeed, these values are not a special feature of the Indian police alone, or the Delhi Police, or, for that matter, of Delhi traffic police, but appear to be predominant in other segments of the governmental system. An anecdote, narrated by Venugopal Rao, may serve to exemplify the point :

On my very first posting as superintendent of police, the

district magistrate, an equally young officer of the Indian Administrative Service, took strong objection to my addressing him informally in demi-official correspondence. The ridiculous clash was over a non-issue—the manner in which a superintendent of police should address the district magistrate. It needed a full-fledged order to clarify the appropriate use of sirs, shris, and dears in official correspondence.[24]

Another anecdote in an article entitled "Indian Administrative Service : Its dialectic and dilemmas" by Sayamal K. Rao, published in Vol. XLV, 1979 issue of the International Review of Administrative Sciences (p. 171) also listed a similar tendency in yet another governmental setting :

A young man who had joined the government service was asked one day to write some comments upon a file by his superior who was an IAS, Deputy Secretary. Not yet used to the administrative culture, he began his comments thus : "I think...." The next day he was pulled up short by his superior officer, "when you write a note you must start by saying, I beg to bring to your notice...."

Emphasizing the need for humanism in the police organisation George Berkley writes :

A democratic police force cannot hope to function in a manner consistent with a democratic society if its internal operations deviate from society's norms and values.[25]

Recommendation:

There is need to not only adopt it as a 'statement of personnel policy' for the police organisation, as a whole, but also to repeatedly impress upon each supervisor, at every level of the management, that, first and foremost, all employees are to be treated with respect and dignity due to one individual from another in a free and democratic nation ; second, lack of this ability can and does cause lot of unnecessary trouble for a work-group/unit/ organisation due to the resultant anger and anxiety on the part of the subordinate's and, third, a cooperative

human relationship based on respect and consideration for juniors (just as we expect to be treated by our superiors) is the best guarantee of a healthy work-atmosphere.

10. PROCESS OF TRAFFIC LAW ENFORCEMENT AND ITS EFFECT ON JOB-SATISFACTION

The study has also identified the impatience of the officers with the existing process of traffic law enforcement which stands divided between the traffic police (handling 'prosecutions') on the one hand, and the courts (handling 'punishment') on the other. The procedural requirements are so lengthy and time-consuming that sometimes it takes months and years before an offender is punished.[26] Since, there is no immediate pubishment—bringing police a sense of satisfaction for a 'complete job' done and to the offender a sense of realization of a 'wrong' done—the delays according to these officers —lead to two negative effects : (1) embolden the violators, and (2) kill 'our interest in the job'.

Two things could be said here so far as the feeling of loss of interest in law enforcement or challaning is concerned.

There may be officers for whom challaning has really become a mechanical, dull and monotonous activity, for they see in it as a means to discipline road-users and thereby ensure order on the roads but seem to be getting nowhere, despite their best efforts in this direction.[27] On the contrary, 'challaning' in the above sense, may have no or little significance for others whose main interest in coming to traffic was that of the financial pay-off in challaning and, therefore, challaning for the sake of the organization goals appears to be dull and mechanical but may not necessarily be so when it serves as a means to their intrinsic ends.

Assuming that the feeling of 'loss of interest in challaning' is genuine to a considerable extent, in that case such a feeling must be checkmated at once, for 'alienation from work' is a disturbing thing to happen to the members of any workgroup.

Behavioural scientists may differ in details over models of job-satisfaction, motivation, etc., but most seem to agree that a job to be satisfying to an employee must offer him three

experiences : (1) meaningfulness, (2) responsibility, and (3) knowledge of results.

Recommendation :

In the light of the above, a three-pronged approach best offers a framework for solution to the problems in this area :

First, through, job-enlargement and its counterpart job-enrichment, an example of which has been given by the officers themselves, *i.e.*, on the spot heavy fines. By adding the variety (and feeling) of punishing the offenders then and there to the present task of prosecuting them the police officers should be able to find their current 'loss of interest' reversed and the challaning activity a more lively affair.

Second, a standardised scale of fines, payable in respect of each traffic offence should be worked out by the concerned authorities (may be in consultation with the judiciary) and have them printed on the back of a challan. A violator would pay the fine on the spot and settle the matter straightaway. This would help save, all over the country, millions of man-hours—a very precious resource in the context of a developing nation like India—of all the three parties, the violator, the police and the courts, more particularly so in the case of traffic police who have a limited manpower and can utilize the released time for control and regulation work on the streets or for educating the community in road-safety.

It would not be out of place to mention here that before the World War II some of the European countries, like Germany and Italy, carried out the work of traffic law enforcement without the help of courts. Sir Alker Tripp, an Ex-Assistant Commissioner of Police, Scotland Yard, has pointed out :

> In Germany the system applied, generally speaking, only to breaches of a traffic regulation involving no special danger. No fine of a greater amount than I mark was collected in this way : and if the offender

disputed the justice of the charge, he had the option of a hearing at court. In Rome, the fines so collected related mainly to offences by pedestrians, the penalty being 10.10 Lira. If the offender could not pay on the spot but could give adequate proof (such as letters addressed to himself) of his name and address, he was handed a form and could pay the fine at any post office. The form had three detachable portions at the bottom of it. When the fine was paid these portions were filled up by the post officials and torn off. The first was returned to the Police to show that the fine had been paid : the second was retained at the post office for purposes of record ; and the third was handed to the offender as a receipt for the fine.[28]

The suggestion might sound a bit radical but once the required changes in law and procedures have been made, (a bit of hard work, no doubt) firm foundation would be laid for elimination of all those frustrations which currently plague the community as well as the governmental agencies in the matter of traffic law enforcement.

In some of the states in the US, they even follow the 'pay by mail' system; of course, this does not apply to traffic offenders involving prison sentences or fines of a higher order.

Third, to guard against the possibility of malpractices, (or at least to minimize them) challaning by police should be carried out, as far as possible by *groups* (instead of individuals), and always under the close supervision of senior officials like the assistant commissioner. While the details in the challan can be filled by any lower official, but it must be issued to the offender under the signature of the assistant commissioner.

If the existing law does not provide for delegation of punishment and fine-collection powers to the traffic police, we believe that the law should be amended to allow the delegation of these powers and functions to enable the traffic police fulfil its responsibilities to the community effectively.

11. WORKING HOURS

From the data presented (pp. 80—83), it can be seen that another factor that seems to be preventing job-satisfaction and efficiency is : "rather long working hours". Because, if a majority of those officers (particularly the inspectors) perceive themselves as caught between 54—84 hours of work every week and what they perceive is, by and large, true, then it follows that the hours of work that characterize the traffic department or for that matter any other unit of Delhi Police are not very much different from the worse hours of work that were a common standard some 200 years ago. For history records that it was only in the 18th century that workers, especially those employed in agriculture, used to toil from dawn to dusk.

It is common knowledge that the hours of work have been getting fewer and holidays longer all over the world during the past 50 years or so. In the light of these developments, we wonder if the police organisation is not clinging to a personnel practice which is totally out of step with the norms prevalent in the last quarter of the 20th century.

Although comparisons with the working environments and conditions available to policemen in the advanced countries might not be strictly relevant here, but it would be useful to put ourselves into the picture obtaining there. In the city of New York, to give one example, 5-day week with 5-week vacation at the end of the year is the norm. The total working hours average 42 and-a-half a week and to compensate officers for that extra half-an-hour, they are granted 18 days off. Thus, added to the regular 27 day vacation that makes 45 days annual vacation for them.

The implication is clear : If the daily and the weekly hours of work in police continue to be in excess of those prevailing in the community, these would definitely continue to upset life at the personal and social fronts (pp. 114-116) of these officers. This, in turn, would keep moods and patterns of behaviour from running smoothly at the work-situation.

Recommendation :

Hours of work should be such as are reasonable for the

work performed and also give due consideration to the 'personal', 'domestic' and 'social' needs of the officers.

In view of the respondents' (83%) clear preference for 'fixed hours' duty as against 'shift duty' (17%), it would be better to select a work schedule which is appropriate to both the organisation demands and the employees' need and preferences.

Arrangements must be made for the transportation of all such men who sometimes have to work late hours and can't get the facility of the public transport system.

12. UPWARD COMMUNICATION CHANNEL

Answers to Questions 27 and 32 show that the upward communication capacity of the 'human side of the enterprise' *i.e.*, the traffic police, is rather poor. The reasons are not far to seek. They lie hidden behind the type of responses elicited from the officers during the interviews. They stand reflected in their behaviour in the presence of their superior/s (pp. 47-48). They were also implicit in the way they felt affronted by their superiors in several ways (pp. 102-103). Besides, the comments some of them made when we met them to administer the questionnaire (pp. 45-46) were no less revealing. The two major fears that seem to act on their minds and thereby choke the communication channel are : absence of climate for freedom of expression and discussion, and fear of prejudicing management against them. However, a careful reading of these responses—oral or behavioural—suggests that these are more closely associated with the functioning of the total police system and do not pertain only to the traffic department.

Whatever be the operating unit or level, it seems clear that: (1) the upward communication channel in police would neither be full nor free so long as the *sampark sabhas*—the management sponsored forum for airing one's problems/grievances—are not held regularly (p. 99), and (2) the men who do 'the communicating' on behalf of management do not really 'communicate'. For example, if a 'sabha is being presided over by an inspector or an assistant commissioner who has the reputation of being arrogant in behaviour, stays aloof, uses course language, or is arbitrary or unjust in his dealings with subor-

dinates, chances are that the subordinates in his presence would just not feel free to open out their hearts and minds because they are not sure that they would be listened to sympathetically.

Although a 'good listener' is said to make a 'good leader', but listening *per se* is not enough. For, there are occasions when subordinates want their grievances to be attended to immediately. After a couple of attempts to air them at these forums when they discover that no action has come out of the superior (even though he listened), the subordinate is likely to withdraw himself and stop communicating with his senior. Speaking from his rich experience as a senior British police officer, R.S. Bunyard offers some useful advice in this connection.

> It is a first rule of all supervisors that they must be approachable. It is very easy to evade many of the responsibilities of rank by refusing to allow people to pose problems or by making it difficult for them to do so. This not only applies to welfare problems but, as welfare matters are often among those that people find the most difficult to discuss with a supervisor, it is here that an unapproachable supervisor can do a great deal of harm.
>
> ...A supervisor who...repulses people with sarcasm or is permanently too busy will not know what is happening around him until it is too late to do anything.
>
> Supervisors should be aware of the problems of their subordinates. They need not do anything about them—it may be the best course to do nothing—but they must have an awareness so that a decision to do nothing is conscious one that can be changed when action is needed.
>
> To have this awareness requires an understanding of people, the sensitivity to be able to detect changes in them, to listen to what people say and to what they do not say. The clue may be that a man has stopped talking about something.[29]

In order to abolish the gap between the chief of staff and the private soldier and to energize the communication channel between the two hierarchical levels, Moshe Dayan, the famed Israeli Chief of Staff (and later, the Defence Minister)

set out, soon after he took over, to change the very image of his office in his own unique style. He cut down on ceremonial, moved into a smaller office-room*, and introduced more simplicity in the work habits of the army brass. Writing in the *Story of my Life*, he says :

> I turned the large, well-furnished room which had been the office of the chief of staff, with its massive table and upholstered chairs, into a conference room. I wanted the field commanders who came to see me to feel that they had come to the Headquarters of a higher command which was not very different and not cut off from their own. When I inspected units in the field, I wore fatigues, sat on the ground with the troops, got dirty and dusty together with them.[30]

Cross communications is amongst the several structural and behavioural innovations in the management of Israeli army that have been noted and quoted by the Western writers as the main factors responsible for its efficiency and effectiveness.[31]

Equally interesting is the explanation offered by these writers for North Vietnam's amazing performance against the much superior armed forces of the French, the Japanese and, finally, the Americans :

> There is nothing to distinguish their generals from their private soldiers except the star they wear on their collars. Their uniform is cut out of the same material, they wear the same boots, their cork helmets are identical and their colonels go on foot like privates. They live on the rice they carry on them, the tubers they pull out of the forest earth, on the fish they catch and on the water of the mountain streams. No beautiful secretaries, no pre-packaged rations, no cars or fluttering pennants...no military bands. But, victory, damn it, victory.[32]

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*In contrast, we came across reports of ill-feelings amongst officials in the road safety cell caused by an unseemly scramble for the so-called 'right spot' on the 10th floor of the Police Headquarters because of their perception that those 'locations' were more prestigious than others in that rather over-crowded space.

Recommendation :

In India, a typical administrator perhaps hardly ever dreams of using communications as a motivator of the men below. Yet, the fact of the matter is that when an organisation is aiming at improvement in the morale and motivation of its men, it must encourage upward communications. These would not happen unless management (at all levels) makes them happen. Experience has shown that it is only when emphasis on status and authority is reduced and the superiors behave in a manner so as to convince the juniors that no punishment* (direct or indirect) shall follow their criticism that free communications from bottom would begin to flow—leading to an overall understanding, a vital ingredient of team spirit.

13. PHYSICAL FITNESS

The results of the study (p. 72) have indicated that in comparison to 'younger people' there are more of 'elderly type' in traffic police. It should further be noted that this 'elderly' element is also composed of 18 per cent of persons who are above 50 years of age—a point which is not without importance as regards the human resource of traffic police if, during any given period it finds itself staffed by a larger 'elderly segment'—a possibility which cannot be entirely ruled out.

Generally speaking, men in traffic are engaged in more physically-taxing tasks than, perhaps, most other units of Delhi Police. The work—whether standing at an intersection for a couple of hours, or running up and down a street even on one's motor-bike or just challaning and controlling traffic—involves considerable physical stress.

Ergonomic researches have shown that profound changes take place in the general capacity for integrated perceptual-

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* Several empirical studies have shown that subordinates hesitate to disclose their feelings for fear of being punished by their superiors in some way for doing so. See, A. Vogel, "Why Don't Employees Speak Up ?", *Personnel Administration*, May-June, 1967 ; Chris Argyris, "Interpersonal Barriers to Decision-Making", *Harvard Business Review*, Vol. 44, March-April, 1966.

motor activity as a man grows older. "The older the level of an individual's maximum capacity, the less reserves he will have to meet unexpected and unusual demands, for example, in an emergency."[33] The following comment offered by one of the respondents not only seemed to convey this very message but also represented the typical response :

> Once the old-haggered men, with their bulging tummies, have been transferred to the traffic police, the efficiency of the department has been compromised.

It has also been stated by researchers that even if an older person is, theoretically, fit and has a satisfactory overall productivity level, he is likely to make more mistakes if his job involves, *inter alia :*

1. Careful judgment, especially when the speed of work makes this necessary in a short time.
2. Carrying part of his own weight or the weight of some of his equipment for a long time.
3. Memorising fragments of information for a very short period.
4. Demands on the eyes or ears.[34]

The job of a traffic inspector, sub-inspector or that of an assistant sub-inspector involves some of these factors. Behaviourally the tasks they perform are also most stressful. For example, they have to deal with the educated, the uneducated, the urbane, the rural, the motorist, the rickshaw-wala, and so on.

Researchers have also noted that the advances in computer sciences may compound these difficulties further in the time to come.

Recommendation :
There is absolutely no doubt that traffic work needs ablebodied men. The accent on physical fitness has, therefore, to be rigorously applied on these ranks and those below.
An upper age-limit (say 40 years or thereabout) can perhaps be fixed. Beyond that age-limit no inspector, subinspector or assistant sub-inspector should be transferred to traffic department.

14. COMPENSATION FOR EXTRA HOURS WORKED

With 100 per cent respondents claiming (p. 82) that they were paid no compensation for extra hours worked, and 92 per cent expressing the feeling (p. 83) that such a management practice has a demoralising effect on their motivation, it is axiomatic how urgently corrective steps are needed to be taken in this area. Indeed, the problem when viewed in the larger context raises a basic issue :

Should a police officer in these ranks be paid for the *amount of time* he spends on the job, or for the *amount of work* he does ?

Which of the two is the right method—is a question that has to be thoroughly analyzed by the management and then take a conscious decision with due regard to its effect on the job-attitudes of the men. But what the study clearly indicates is that as of today, there is no definite understanding on this subject between the management, on the one hand, and the police officers in these ranks, on the other. In fact, what is going on is that each party seems to be perceiving its rights/privileges from its own angle and, as a result, not only a psychological tug of war is on but also a psychological distance has come to stay between the two (Edgar H. Schein, pp. 13-14). It would also be recalled that most of the respondents (pp. 83-84) were found to be unaware of the conditions of work and life in police before their entry into it.

We should like to highlight yet another important aspect of compensation — at times granted by the management but, which, somehow, fails to click with the employees. Our reference here is to the 'compensation' offered to all the police personnel upto the level of inspectors in January 1980 in the form of one month's salary in lieu of extra work done on holidays and working days. If the objective of the management was to use that payment to motivate the men, we are afraid, the effect has been lost because, as per our interviews, the scheme failed to satisfy the 'need' for holiday or leave to go home—*the need which was most eagerly sought by these men.* That is not to suggest however that additonal money

was not welcome by them ; money was required to indulge in life's several interests and desires but it certainly did not seem to stimulate them to higher efficiency as might have been the intent of the management. In other words, if a man is hungry we can satisfy his hunger-need either by giving him food or the money to buy it. But, if a man only needs time, a monetary compensation can be a very poor substitute for such a need-state. A person who is to be motivated must be given an incentive or compensation which is valued by his organism—for, incentives or compensation cover the entire range of human desires and can be both 'financial' or 'non-financial' in character.

Recommendation:

To motivate human behaviour, a variety of compensation or incentives can be used : money, a pat on the back, a medal, or a commendation certificate. While it is not easy to rank such items into a fixed hierarchy of human needs, yet the management would do well to remember that the potential motivating value of each compensation or incentive would depend, among others, on the individual's or group's need-state at a particular moment of time.

15. CORRUPTION

What is the exact magnitude of corruption[35] in traffic police is hard to compute : that is: (1) the total amount of cash or kind collected every month, (2) the share of each beneficiary, and (3) the total percentage of workforce benefiting from it—though one sub-inspector guestimated : "Approximately 80 per cent of us and others—can be considered as belonging to this sub-culture here".

However, some of the reasons, and the pattern of corruption behind such behaviour are, to a certain extent, clear—as shown by answers to Questions 11, 41 and 42 which have already indicated why there is such a spurt of enthusiasm amongst policemen to get into 'thana police', and withine 'traffic police' to be assigned to tasks, such as, 'challaning

work'. These answers reflect, in most cases, economic pressures (Question 11), and, consequently, the temptation to move into units/tasks that offer the possibility of making extra money (Questions 41 and 42).

Behaviour of this kind in traffic police broadly falls into two categories : *One*, which can be called the 'Interface corruption' that occurs when traffic men come into contact with the road-users of various kinds, and *two*, 'Internal corruption' which takes place amongst policemen themselves (at the headquarters when an upper/lower subordinate is anxious to get himself into traffic police from another unit and he approaches another upper/lower subordinate or a higher official who can pull wires, and within the traffic department when one has stayed on in a 'non-remunerative task/area too long and wants to be sent to a 'profitable' one).

Our interview-evidence throws further light on this behaviour. For example, there are particular areas in the city that are most favoured by the men for posting. The areas mentioned were mostly trade/business localities, such as, Chandni Chowk, Khari Baoli, Fatehpuri. Naya Bans, Sadar Bazar, Paharganj, Azadpur-New Subzimandi, etc. These are the areas which, partly because of the very nature of the business activity (wholesale trading) that goes on there, and partly because of a mad variety of traffic that fills the narrow streets, have become notorious for traffic congestions and jams that occur most of the time. In addition, a good number of people operate there in order to eke out some livelihood—be it illegal hawking or unauthorized rickshaw-plying. Against such a background, it is not at all surprising that obstruction of traffic and other offences by all these elements all through the day, bring them in touch with the representative of traffic law on the spot, with his power of prosecution and discretion. When traffic laws get violated by a large body of road-users and the traffic law representative chooses to wink at those violations, both sides stand to gain : the mini-bus operator, for example, by carrying more passengers than the legal limit and, thereby, earning bigger profits, the policemen making some extra money in return for not prosecuting the offenders.

We were also told by some of our interviewees that the

other 'set of areas' that were equally lucrative and favoured by men were the 'outposts' lying on the periphery of the city limits where trucks carrying goods of all kinds stream into Delhi, day and night, from the neighbouring States like Punjab, Haryana, Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan, and the States beyond them.

Corroborating their answers, given in answer to the Questionnaire, most men confessed that they were not happy beings assigned to VIP routes, Parliament Street, Chanakya Puri and some other areas of New Delhi because these are the areas where most VIPs (both in government and the police hierarchy) live and work, and are found moving about a great deal of time. The immediate threat, as seen by them, is that posting in these areas poses a constant danger of being found on the 'wrong foot' and, thus, get punished. Besides, by being there one feels excluded and deprived from the glitter of other areas where the economic gains are pretty high and the risk of being caught is rather low.

When an organisation is caught in a trap of this kind whereby 80 per cent (appx.) members are said to be enmeshed in negative behaviour patterns and have lost sight of organisation goals, the anxiety of the management is well understood : What are the options open to it which can be used to clean up the department of this malady ?

Let us see if we can in this connection draw upon the experience of the West which has been in the forefront of advances in management thought and practice in the world for quite some time now.

Western Remedies

Much has been said, written and theorised about elimination of corruption in the West, particularly in the United States, and a quick review of the Western literature suggests a fairly wide range of strategies for corruption control. To take the American experience, first, one finds that the major emphasis there has been placed on what are called as internal control mechanisms, such as :

1. An unequivocal opposition to corruption by the administrator,

2. Administrative tenure,
3. Better administration,
4. Improved selection and training of new officers ; and
5. A capable internal investigation unit.[36]

However, there are writers who go beyond these 'internal mechanisms' and recommend 'external controls'[37] in the form of civilian organisations, say, ombudsman, etc., to counter police corruption. Others support idea of 'effective leadership'[38] at the top as a resource for corruption control. Still others prefer "conscription of citizens into the police"[39] in order to expose the 'inner subculture' to outside value systems and thereby dilute and devalue the influence of the inner subculture on the police personnel.

'Sophisticated training programmes'[40] powerful enough to develop 'internal' defences against resocialisation into a corrupt milieu, and 'professionalism as a means of corruption control'[41] are amongst the other tools, suggested by writers.

Has organisation theory anything to offer in the study and control of corruption in police ?

For such police organisations which are schooled and steeped into classical theory principles, institution of detailed rules/regulations, close supervision, surveillance, suspension, dismissal, etc., and use traditional techniques like fear and coercion to combat corruption, an interesting analysis is provided by Allan Kornblum who has made a penetrating study of the efforts of the New York City Police Department which employed similar conventional strategies. These strategies, in Kornblum's view, result from what he calls the 'Theory X' assumptions (McGregor, 1956) which emphasize, *inter alia*, fear and punishment to check deviant behaviour of employees. Kornblum concluded that Theory X is ineffective as a control mechanism, for even their "130 years of experience have yielded no solution to the enigma of maintaining honest and ethical behaviour in gambling enforcement."[42]

Kornblum goes one step further and coins the term 'Theory X^n' for still harsher internal controls, adopted by some police organisations. It is his contention, however, that Theory X^n

may produce favourable results in the short run, but there is no evidence to show that it helps to bring about permanent changes in the job-attitudes or practices of the corrupt police personnel.

The irony of the situation is that, by and large, all these strategies and several others that have been devised and implemented in the West have either failed or only met with partial success. A lack of their credibility (and applicability to Indian situation) is that they would have the managements in India (or elsewhere) to believe that police corruption should be examined and explained only in the framework of the organisation and that the "external forces or influences" have no bearing upon it. It is due to this segmented approach— which is almost a tradition with the Western organisation theorists—that the various techniques or strategies they eventually recommended have failed to work.

Does that mean that the situation which the Delhi traffic police finds itself in is beyond redemption ? To attempt any realistic analysis of police corruption, it must be essentially recognised, to begin with, that corruption is not exclusively a "police or traffic police phenomenon" in the society. As a matter of fact, corruption in police is only a tip of the iceberg of corruption which permeates the entire society. One is inclined to share the view of Hurstfield[43] who argues that corruption can only be examined within the entire framework of the society which produces it. C.H. Rolph sounds a similar note when he asks the society to remember :

> ...how much harder it is for a copper to be a good man and a good professional than for any other citizen in the land. I think it's impossible for police officers to do the work society has set them without dire temptations to the spirit. And if they yield to these, society has no right to blame them. It has willed the end and must take its responsibility for the means.[44]

The roots of corruption in the society really lie in the values the society today places on materialistic things, thrown up so rapidly by science and technology—better clothes, houses, education for children, more comfortable living, a fridge, a

black-and-white TV now, and a colour-TV in 1982 (to be introduced in Delhi at the time of the Asian Games), video-tapes, cars, etc. This is the economic climate today and the member of the police force are, naturally, no exception to this general behaviour of the community at large. As these values spread to ever larger sections of the population, there is worked up almost a compulsive craze for acquisition of these luxuries of yesterday which are fast turning into the necessities of today. On top of it, the media continuously exhorts people to spend money and thereby encourages consumerism[45]. No wonder when the gap between the limited salaries/incomes and the increasingly whipped-up expectations widens, most people succumb to the temptations and seek to achieve their gratifications through short-cut methods—and 'corruption' is one of them.

It would be recalled here that some of the police officers in their interviews also reflected similar pressures on their minds which subsequently oblige them to be a part of such 'subculture' in the police (p. 129).

There were a few respondents who said that if the salaries were raised, the basic thrust for corruption would be eliminated. But, we would not subscribe to this assumption because if mere money were the real villain of the piece, corruption in the Western countries would have long disappeared.

One of the sub-inspectors offered the suggestion that all fresh recruits, after their training at the Police Training School, should first be posted to traffic police so that they do not get 'contaminated' by the immoral influences in other units and later bring them over to the traffic police. We would not endorse this suggestion, either, for it takes both a 'naive' and a 'closed' view of human personality—*i.e.*, once a moralist, always a moralist.

Recommendation :

Can something be done about it ? Our frank answer to this question is : very little (even if this appears to sound a note of despair). For instance, we can try measures, such as, plugging of deficiencies in legislation, speedier prosecution of offenders, severe punishments,

more publicity to punishments, salary reforms, etc., but it would be impossible to create an incorruptible traffic police so long as the society emphasizes a particular set of values. By raising the salaries of the police personnel and giving them a few more perks, to illustrate the point, might help slow down the "gradual path of moral decline"[46] but eliminating corruption totally shall remain, under the existing social milieu, an utopian dream. As a writer has made a very perceptible observation :

> Wants and expectations are culturally-determined variables, and not psychological constants.

16. VIOLATORS/ONLOOKERS' REACTIONS TOWARD CHALLANING AND CHALLANING OFFICERS

Respondents' answers to questions 38 and 39 provided illustrations of the attitudes of traffic-law violators and the 'on lookers' (who generally gather around the scene of challaning), and the complaints made by the respondents against these two groups which together can be clubbed as 'public' or 'community'.

The challaning officers' experience that only 3 per cent of the violators willingly accepted challans and that 90 per cent of the onlookers generally aligned themselves with the violators and not with the police indicates that the community in general sees this part of the traffic police operations (namely, challaning) as a kind of threat, dreaded punishment or unwelcome interference. Little do they realize that the traffic police are not out to harass them unnecessarily or are prompted by any individual whim or fancy to challan them. The fact of the matter is that enforcement of traffic-laws is a responsibility assigned to them by the community itself and when they, in pursuance of it, try to stop a speeding motorist and hand him a challan, they are merely trying to give him the message writ large all over the city in the form of hoardings, etc.: "Speed thrills but kills". In other words, if he drives carefully he would be saving his own life. The example of the scooterists who did not wear the helmet (in violation of traffic rules) and thereby ran the risk of losing their limb/s or life is quite illuminating (p. 108) and goes

to show how callous the members of the community are toward their own safety.

While the community or the public would have to ultimately accept the 'road safety' idea in its own interest, but the rather hostile 'reception' it accords at present to the members of the traffic police appears to leave them ill-at-ease with their job of challaning. Besides, since challaning is an all-too-recurrent activity, going on week after week and month after month, involving lakhs of violators and onlookers every year, it is but natural that when a challaning officer emerges out of each one of these 'public-police confrontations' with feelings of bitterness or unhappiness again and again, he is likely to end up with some kind of job-dissatisfaction or disgust. Thus, job-dissatisfaction arising out of this inter-action with the public would not diminish or disappear unless a community-wide consciousness about the support of traffic laws enforcement has been developed and the people begin to view challaning not as a 'crisis situation' but as a bonus from traffic police in the shape of 'additional years of life'.

Recommendation :

Apart from emphasis on engineering aspects of road-design, etc., traffic police would have to intensify its present campaign to spread a climate of road-safety in the community—though, under the present circumstances, it might never wholly succeed in accomplishing this objective.

In the final analysis, however, so long as the community chooses to sit aloof in its own 'ivory tower' without caring to meet the traffic police half-way, it must be prepared to face the harsh reality : the dangers on road would always exist and job-dissatisfaction amongst traffic officers persist.

WHAT DO WE SEE THEN ?

Distractors like the 'extra money' in the form of corruption aside—which, of course, come in the way of fulfilment of the organisational goals—it can be said without any contradiction that there are several factors (listed in the foregoing) which can be described as the major planks in the platform

of what might be called as a generalised 'system of dissatis-
fiers' which, either by itself or in association with others, is
at work in the traffic police (or, in a way, in the entire police
force in the city). To these can also be added some 'negli-
gible' dissatisfiers like absence of 'recreational facilities'
(pp. 111-112).

But, regardless of the significance or importance of these
'dissatisfiers' to the unique need-system of each one of the
respondents, the question that acted as a unifier to sum up
their perception of the total environment (satisfying or dis-
satisfying) was the last question (46) in the Questionnaire :

> You have served Delhi Police for some time, and hence,
> you should be familiar, by and large with its plus as
> well as minus points. Suppose, you were to begin your
> career afresh and have a choice between a police job and
> another comparable government job in Delhi, do you think
> you would still be inclined to choose the police job ?

Simply stated, the question attempted to round up their
feelings or opinions about 'police as a work-place' in com-
parison to another comparable government job in Delhi. The
answers given revealed a state of mind in which the police
as a career was rated as a greater source of 'dissatisfaction'
than any other (imaginary) career, when 62 per cent said that
given the choice they would prefer to push on to 'another job'.

While it is true that 38 per cent of them, in spite of their
varying degrees of dissatisfactions of various kinds, would
still not like to 'exchange' their present jobs in police for other
jobs in Delhi but what is important for management to notice
in these responses is that as a 'positive motivator' a job in
police (with all its minus and plus points) is far from satis-
factory and it is this overall assessment which seems to compel
in them the belief : Had they not joined the police, they
would have been better-off.

This 'belief', if we may flash back to their answers to
Question 45, is, in a way, reinforced by the aggregate inten-
sities of their feelings and comments, recorded earlier in this
chapter, and now expressed in the shape of 'improvements'
they desired in order to make their organisation more efficient

and attractive. It would be recalled here that even though they were specifically asked to suggest only those 'improvements' which did not involve any 'financial' expenditure, yet a vast majority of the, as we saw, chose—intentionally or unintentionally—to place central importance on those which spelt 'money' : salary, promotions, houses, etc., or to put it differently, the 'maintenance needs'.

'The other side of the hill always looks greener'—so goes an old adage. This can be as true of these police officers as of anybody else. Who could have 'gained' or 'lost', had he followed a different 'path' in life—is an issue which cannot be conclusively proved either way, because human life is so complex. However, the upshot of all that concerns us here is : For most men 'negative attitudes' appear to be at the very core of their dispositions toward their jobs, and several other factors related to the jobs, and, by and large, they seem to have lost faith in police as a career, incapable of offering them the gratifications they need, or expect from a work-place.

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[27]

Year	No. of challans	Fatalities in road accidents
1975	2,01,095	510
1976	3,07,633	587
1977	3,09,659	694
1978	4,46,147	717
1979	5,74,043	763
1980	3,96,096	663

SOURCE : P.S. Bawa, *A Study of Fatal Road Accidents in Delhi in 1979,* February 1980, Delhi Traffic Police, Delhi.

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Seven SOME REFLECTIONS

One definite result that stands out from the 'perceptual' evidence of this study—however sketchy it might be—is : that traffic police lack both the working conditions (relating to physiological dimensions, such as, adequate facilities/equipment/comforts at work, holidays, pay, promotional opportunities, etc.) as well as 'human conditions' (pertaining to emotional and intellectual dimensions of the employees, say, respect and dignity due to an individual, appropriate leadership styles, right climate for open communications between the superiors and the subordinates, etc.). But, it would be unrealistic to lay the entire blame for these deficiencies at the door steps of the traffic police because 'traffic' as an activity of the Delhi Police cannot be viewed or analysed in isolation from the 'total police system' in Delhi—for the simple reason that most of these 'physical' and 'human' conditions have either their origin in the total system or are induced into the traffic police from it. Thus, under the conditions prevailing in the traffic police today, motivation of these men is difficult unless, firstly, the 'dissatisfiers' located out there in the total system are removed and, then, those peculiar to the traffic department itself are also done away with. For, in the light of decades of behavioural researches, it has almost become axiomatic that employees do no more than what their working and living conditions encourage and permit them to do.

TRAFFIC POLICE QUAGMIRE

A particular condition of difficulty in which the traffic police and its functioning is caught up seems to be its organic relationship with the total police system in the city. And, one consequence that must follow from this relationship (between the 'part' and the 'whole') is that the part must live through and act all the time in the 'image' of the whole, or the other

part/s thereof. For instance, when the crime rate in the city goes up, the image that dominates or exerts over the mind of the man-in-the-street about the efficiency or inefficiency of the 'Delhi Police' or the 'district police' also spills over to the image of the traffic police in the public and sticks to it—even though the traffic conditions during that period in the city might have registered an improvement.

Of course, there are several other handicaps that flow from this complex relationship and which, in turn, stifle the efficient functioning of the traffic police. Take, for instance, the chain-of-command pattern and the control-system 'borrowed' or 'received' by the traffic police as a spin-off from the total system, and operating at the circle level. Every member of the circle team —sub-inspectors down to the constables—gets his orders from or reports to the inspector-in-charge who is held accountable for all the actions of his subordinates. But, when it comes to writing of the annual confidential reports, his authority is split. While he retains the power to evaluate the work-performance of the assistant sub-inspectors, the head-constables, and the constables, he is denied this authority in the case of the sub-inspectors whose annual reports are, instead, written by the assistant commissioner. This has led to the diffusion of loyalties at the circle level and most sub-inspectors—as we were informed—tended to care less for the inspectors and more for the assistant commissioner. As one of the inspectors put it :

> Under the circumstances, we only 'monitor' not 'manage' an important element of our human resource and the operational efficiency of the team suffers.

Now, if the traffic police want to make a break from this practice and vest the authority to evaluate the work-performance of sub-inspectors with the circle team incharge, *i.e.*, the inspector, they can't.

To give another example, even if the traffic police implement the few suggestions on 'training' made in this study, and manage to upgrade its training contents, methodology, and the quality of instructions, it may still be worth asking whether all these efforts would not eventually result in the

wastage of investments made in 'training'—*simply becauseof the existing practice of transferring men from one unit to another every 3 or 4 years, and that, too, in a random manner.*[1] The transfer from the traffic department cannot but mean the replacement of the 'trained people' by others and, thereby, the beginning of the process of their re-education *de novo*.

Here, in this very practice one can clearly discern an imbalance between the 'skill needs' of the traffic police (pp. 147-148) and the 'personnel policy and practices' of the Delhi Police, as a whole. For, surely, sending away a group of people who have been given 'intensive' training for traffic work and have also proved to be real assets for the unit would amount to a waste of skills inculcated at great expense of time and money; conversely, it would equally be unfortunate if people 'trained' to deal with members of the underworld and having demonstrated a flair for that kind of work are later sent to traffic where they might prove to be a liability if they happen to find the work, some how, less exciting. This is not however to assert that the policy of transferring people from one unit to another is bad *per se*. What is implied here is that before transfers are affected from one unit to another, certain homogeneity or likeness in the nature of work or skills required in the two mutually-interlocked units needs to be established first.

If the above analysis is correct and if, from the 'health' point of view of the traffic police, such casual and unpremeditated transfer of men leads to 'unhealthy' state of affairs, the options before the traffic police are clear :

Either, acquire young, educated, and well-informed men in an uncompromising manner;
Or, continue to hitch its wandbagon onto some of the inflexible and inadequate practices of the total police system in Delhi.

It cannot have it both ways. It must either severe its connections with these practices, or continue to suffer from the maladies which arise therefrom.

'IDEAL' CONDITION

Perhaps an 'ideal' condition for the traffic police would be if it is hived off from the general system of policing in Delhi, set up as a separate body incharge of the total traffic system in the city, allowed to recruit its own personnel from the open market and then 'home-grow' them by putting them through an appropriate learning/training and toughening period. After all, when traffic management in the city has already assumed the character of a tedious and gigantic job, no organisation can be expected to give top performance if the quality of its personnel does not match to the demands of the tasks they are expected to achieve. It is in this context that traffic police face its most challenging task : that is, of selecting the 'right' type of men-round pegs in round holes.

Besides, this is the age of 'specialisation' and the growth of specialisation has already hit many activities of the Indian police in many ways. *'Traffic work' is also a budding speciali-sation.* In saying that, we are not looking 2, 3 or 7 year ahead but beyond the year 2000. The role of the traffic police in a city like Delhi would stand considerably modified in the years to come, for the future inspectors or the zonal officers would not be seen walking on foot or running about on their motorbikes or wireless-fitted vehicles most of the time but are most likely to direct traffic from their operation-rooms, equipped with the latest inner circuit TV systems and also making many decisions which currently lie within the province of their higher-ups in the department. Thus, one might call the Delhi traffic police the 'future specialists' if not the 'present-day specialists'.

There are a few other reasons that point to the need for developing traffic police into an exclusive specialist force (say, like the 'Riot Police') of the future :

1. When the task is small, a small 'generalist' force can deal with it. But, when the task gets bigger and more complex, the small force must assume the role of a specialist-group. Looking at the growing size and the physical characteristics of a city like Delhi, and, of course, the upcoming criss-cross of flyovers, the giant-like traffic

management problems have already out-stripped the existing traffic force and its out-dated tools and methods and the situation is crying for an urgent 're-think' of the whole approach.

2. There are over 50 traffic-laws on the traffic police statute-book. Can any inspector/sub-inspector/assistant sub-inspector/head constable remember all the 50 plus laws before he enforces them—unless, of course, he tries to be a specialist ?

3. The work of the personnel placed in the road safety cell comprises tasks which lend themselves to specialisation (knowledge of psychology, sociology, etc., for those members who have to deliver road-safety talks in schools/colleges or who train traffic men on transfer to the department).

4. Last, but not the least, must not every circle incharge or the zonal officer specialise in the typical traffic problems and complexities of his own area. Must not he know his circle or zone the way he knows the inside of his own house ? Can he be truly effective in his task unless he is a specialist?

The creation of a specialised and exclusive force would also bring along certain advantages : For example, intensive training coupled with cumulative experience can help generate a high-level of expertise; concentration on one type of work enables the men to develop interest in the subject-matter and, thereby, make them more committed; and, a number of teams can be developed and within them the much needed 'team spirit'.

SECOND-BEST SOLUTION

Given the existing constraints of the legal framework, however, a drastic disassociation from the current 'jack of all trades' personnel practice of the Delhi police and its replacement by the establishment of traffic work as a separate and specialist unit, (the kind speculated above) is perhaps neither possible nor feasible at present. So, short of the 'ideal' condition, the traffic police have to settle with the 'second-best' solution : namely, the least its management can do is to claim or canvass

its right to secure from amongst all the upper subordinates on the pay-roll of the Delhi police as 'best' men as they can— a right which the current policies and practices of the Delhi Police pre-empt from the deputy commissioner (traffic) at present, because so far as the quality of manpower is concerned, he is merely at the 'receiving end' and has no say, whatsoever, in the selection of officers sent to traffic police. Indeed, there is no 'selection', it is only a matter of 'take it or leave it' between him and the headquuarters of Delhi Police.

The deputy commissioner (traffic) must be free to choose his inspectors and zonal officers and he would choose them on the basis of their:

1. Physical fitness,
2. Better education,
3. General awareness about meaning of work in traffic,
4. Work-habits (their past records of hard-work, responsibility, identification with organisational goals, etc.),
5. Demonstrated commitment to serve the road-using public, and
6. Interest in social responsibilities and human values.

The search for such people should go on all the time— people who have these superior characteristics in terms of their total fitness for total demands of the traffic work. *The deputy commissioner would then stand at the 'entry gates' of his department, look every entrant upside-down, eliminate those who are not qualified for work in traffic because of their various impairments and finally, let in only those he is reasonably satisfied with.*

The reason why the importance of better-educated and better-selected officers for traffic police is being stressed here is based upon the belief that improvement in these personnel practics—the 'means' will have a far-reaching influence on the 'end-product' of the traffic police, *i.e.,* the operational efficiency of the entire force.

This is not, however, to suggest that these qualities are not required in other units of Delhi Police. Far from it. But it certainly needs to be emphasised that *no other unit requires so many of these special qualities in so large numbers as the traffic*

police. Our grounds for thinking so are : The relationship between the traffic police and public in Delhi is one of growing importance and complexity. If it is the job of thousands upon thousands of people to use the roads and the streets every day, it is the job of the traffic police to regulate their movement so as to enable them reach their work-places and homes in time. Indeed, the intimacy and the frequency of this relationship can be gauged also from over 5 lakh prosecutions made in the year 1980. Of course, this is only a very partial picture because a vast number of traffic-law violators are seen, but not caught always, or just let off after warnings/lecturing at the headquarters. As the population of the city grows, this relationship is sure to grow into one of greater complexity in the time to come.

Perhaps the only other unit of Delhi Police which can legitimately lay the claim for such a relationship of growing complexity with the public is the district police which is also supposed to be in the frontline of interaction with the public all the time. But, it can be said without fear of contradiction from any quarter that it is the traffic police, far more than the district police, which faces the task of meeting and dealing with a larger body of people of a vast array of backgrounds — and, that too, every minute of the daytime.

Khosla Commission emphasized the role of traffic police in the following words :

The traffic police has a particularly onerous task. The larger amount of vehicular traffic, the wantonness of selfish and careless drivers, the arrogant-bearing of persons who defy speed limitations and traffic regulations when sitting behind the steering wheel of a motor-car carrying sign of diplomatic immunity, the importunate behaviour of self-important officers, are harassing features of a Delhi policeman's life. In dealing with these problems the utmost tact, a balanced temperament and courage are needed.

The level of responsibility of traffic police, as measured by the economic and social losses to the society, due to deaths and injuries on roads are enormous. There is, thus, growing awareness all over the world, particularly in the

industrially-advanced West where more people get killed by road accidents than by violence, that 'traffic regulation and control' is one of the most important components of overall police force and, therefore, the trend is to select the most capable men for work in traffic units. Of all the units in Delhi Police which one deserves the 'most capable men' is amply clear from the following Table[2]:

Year	Murders	Fatalities in road accidents
1975	165	510
1976	120	587
1977	184	694
1978	185	717
1979	194	763
1980	184	663
TOTAL	1032	3934

Lastly, no good life in the modern times would be possible unless there is an absolute order on the roads and streets in a metropolitan city like Delhi and all members of its community—as producers, distributors and consumers of a wide variety of goods and services—are able to move about safely and expeditiously from one part of the city to another. For instance, if there is confusion and chaos on roads, sick people might not be able to reach hospitals in time for medical aid, wholesale traders inhibited from sending their supplies to the retailers, and factory/office workers compelled to stay away at times, from work, etc.

Reiterating convincingly the place of traffic police as a focal point in the city-life and its contribution to the enhancement of democratic ideals in the society at large, Charles Reithe, in his book "British Police and the Democratic Ideal", had this to say :

It would be of lasting benefit to the community if every member of it would consider seriously for a moment the part that is played by the police in the life of each individual, hour by hour, by day and by night . . . A glance at

one particular aspect of the functions and duties of the police reveals, more clearly than a general survey, the ingredients of their success as an institution. In the story of their achievement of traffic control lies a parable of civic life which will repay the careful consideration of individual citizens ... Among other features of the mountain of disorder which the police were required to face on their first establishment, the traffic chaos of the London streets was not the most formidable but it presented peculiar difficulties due to the firmly-held belief of drivers of all kinds and of all ranks of society ... that they possessed the individual right of stopping where they pleased, and of moving and crossing anywhere in the streets at any place they chose ... Without the police and their patience of fulfilling their task, the traffic chaos of the Lodon streets might have increased until all movement became impossible ... Slowly but surely, the police taught the drivers of the London streets the age-long but wilfully rejected lesson of democratic liberty; that its voluntary sacrifice by the individual, when necessary in the interests of others, is often the surest means open to him of securing for himself the enhancement and enjoyment of its benefits. It is a lesson which, in the course of a century, the police have taught the people of Britain to recognize in every aspect of their lives.[3]

The disorderly traffic conditions that exist in the streets of Delhi may be a far cry from the orderly conditions that exist in the streets of London, and the traffic police here may not have so far succeeded in teaching the drivers of Delhi streets the 'lessons of democratic liberty', but probably the most important single source of this decades-old deficiency is the rather enforced 'under-nourishment' of the traffic police at the hands of the higher authorities by way of: (*a*) misunderstanding and under-estimation of the role of traffic police in the life of the community in modern times, (*b*) assignment of a low priority to traffic in its scheme of things (see comments made by Inspectors, p. 86), and (*c*) allotment of inadequate resources[4], both human and non-human, to it to cope with the traffic situation. The least that should be done immediately to

correct this 'misunderstanding and under-estimation' is to elevate the quality of the personnel selected to serve the traffic police.

PREPARATION OF A SEED-BED FOR ATTRACTION AND MOTIVATION OF MEN IN TRAFFIC

Even though the UK Royal Commission on Police, in its final Report (1962) emphatically stated that, of the four basic duties a Police Authority has, the first one is to properly pay, equip, and house its force,[5] yet it has to be recognized that the Delhi traffic police cannot, on its own, give its men higher pay, overtime for extra work, quicker promotions, etc. But, the least the traffic police can do is to be a pioneer, in introducing some changes/innovations that would make it look 'a far better place to work' than other units of Delhi Police. These changes could include :

1. a regular weekly-off;
2. better working conditions which modern management principles dictate as fair and just;
3. sensitive and employee-oriented senior officials;
4. provision of a new, distinctive uniform that would set all traffic men apart from the rest of the police force in the capital;
5. careful planning of work in operational divisions so that daily working hours shall be reasonable and give due consideration to each employee's welfare and convenience;

and, of course, others suggested in the precedingchapter.

Besides, the management can also use the already built-in facilities available to its men, like: (1) sleeping one's nights at home, rather than at the 'thana', as is the case with the district police, and (2) the free motorbike and free petrol to almost every ASI and SI in traffic police, as the two other powerful incentives to obtain the most capable men to work for it.

'Respect for an individual employee'—is yet another 'attraction' that the traffic police management can build within its boundaries. No abusive practices, no heavy-handed

treatment of subordinates—these can act as motivators because it has been stated that employee-productivity is achieved in an environment in which the employee is respected as an individual.[6]

Once these benefits are publicized and known amongst the police circles and the physically-fit, educationally-sound and the mentally-mature inspectors, SIs and ASIs flocked toward the traffic police, the management could always 'exploit' these 'special' benefits as potential rewards in traffic police to make the contenders conscious of the fact that : (*a*) they were fortunate to get into traffic and enjoy them—not easily available in most other units, and that (*b*) these benefits were not 'rights' to be sought automatically but 'privileges' to be earned by constant hardwork and devotion to duty.

The slightly greater 'material' and 'human advantages' offered by the traffic police as opposed to the other units, should help ensure greater commitment amongst its men to its organisational goals.

While the men would continue to be selected only on the basis of their ability to fit the needs of traffic work, yet subjective judgments may result, every now and then, in wrong people getting into the unit. If efforts to improve their job-attitudes and work-performances subsequently fail, it is vital that such men are identified and relieved of their responsibilities in traffic police at the earliest possible moment—even if it is painful to do so.

Besides, as the traffic police require very different leaders of men than do other units (because it is, basically, a service-oriented organisation), it is also imperative that the assistant commissioners (traffic), too, are chosen with great care. Practical experience as well as empirical morale-studies have shown that subordinates ranked 'good leadership' well toward the top of the factors that they thought were important for their job-satisfaction. Indeed, in many cases the job-attitudes of employees have been found to be more affected by this factor (a 'psychological' need), even though—they were low on the satisfaction of their 'physiological needs'. The inter-relationship, thus, is clear : a 'good boss' can go a long way in toning up the morale of the employees in organisations that may be chronically deficient in providing for the 'physiological

needs' of their employees. And, it need be hardly emphasized that in organisations, like the police, where, despite a spate of commissions and committees and their reports and recommendations, one finds the long-suffering police personnel still suffering for want of 'maintenance needs', the factor of 'good leadership' certainly assumes special significance.

It is also often argued that police is a 'disciplined' force which means certain amount of tough and harsh climate, including denial of trade-union rights. If that be so, then it must also be remembered that a 'disciplined force' also warrants a leadership which is better than the 'average leadership'— and is expected to have an interest in and understanding of human nature, the ability to listen, to be fair and sympathetic, and to earn (not command) respect from the juniors. Overly authoritarian or arrogant bosses who do not seem to see the 'human side of the enterprise', can certainly be effective for some of the time but in the long run, such leadership has its limitations because they can only 'extract' obedience to orders, whereas in a humanistic climate it is 'given' and 'voluntarily offered'.

Studies of successful leadership have also reported that too much separation or social distance between the top management and those below is counter-productive. In the police, separate toilet facilities and other disparities and differentiations are fairly common. In a country like India which is wedded to the ideals of democracy and socialism, such things must go. The superiors must try to level with the subordinates (be informal and accessible, though not necessarily 'intimate'). They should learn to look at situations as if they were in the subordinates' position (shoes) so that they would come to feel how they would look at the organisation if they were in the position of an inspector. a SI or an ASI. For this kind of a rapport, meeting and talking with the men below is absolutely essential, if one is to become truly acquainted with one's subordinates and begin to understand their job-attitudes and behaviour. Why not occasionally borrow and try the Chinese method under which administrators in a commune there 'must spend a minimum of sixty days a year working as ordinary commune members as an insurance against them developing into bureaucrats'.[7] Let there also be at least two occasions

in a year when top management in traffic police would serve tea and snacks to all the upper and lower subordinates—to make the human element within the organisation more closely-knit and cohesive. In ultimate analysis, it is not a change here or an improvement there, but the combined effectiveness of all the innovations that communications between the 'leaders' and the 'led' would improve and an upsurge of team·spirit follow.

Although it is generally recognized that building up the team spirit and the commitment of the subordinates is the responsibility of the management (even though the commitment has to come from the employees), Chris Argyris likes to pin down the largest shares of this responsibility on the top management. And, if this 'assignment' to the management is accepted, it follows that the traffic police would have to give priority to the task of creating within the traffic police an environment in which the subordinate officers would be willing to give their best to the organisation, particularly when the system, as a whole, has had rather a poor record of redressing the grievances of these officers.

But, a common weakness of a majority of people who occupy managerial positions in government organisations in India is their inattention to the simple behavioural formula:

$$Results = Ability + Motivation$$

Most tend to assume that 'ability' of an employee is all that is needed for accomplishing results. They need to be reminded that 'motivation' or an 'environment conducive to motivation' is equally important. Once the motivation stands diminished, then however much be the ability, the results would also stand diminished. The far-sighted organisation would always act and prepare the seed-bed for motivation 'now' for results 'later'.

Last but not the least, let us face the fact—pure and simple: merely making the traffic police efficient would not do. Unless the accompanying problems at the interface between the traffic police and several other agencies responsible for traffic management in the city are simultaneously resolved and the tasks that now stand divided amongst these agencies are also united

role effectively. For, as the study has shown, some of their problems originate from this 'interface' and have a direct bearing on their attitudes toward their jobs.

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[1]Transfers from one unit to another can, no doubt, enlarge the experiences of an officer, but the basic issue is : Can he or does he always fit in easily wherever he is sent ? If he does not, is he pulled back ? The present practices appear to ignore some of these important aspects.

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[5]Royal Commission on Police, Final Report, 1962, para 154.

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APPENDICES

SOME QUOTES FROM RESPONDENTS

ON PROMOTION CRITERIA

—It is not just the present 'rating context' that is wrong but also the 'rating scale'.

—Headquarters staff (and within them, those closer to the top bosses) are always 'over-rated' and, hence, over-rewarded; the field staff, on the contrary, are always 'under-rated' and hence, under-rewarded.

ON WEEKLY OFF

—The most disagreeable feature of this 'no regular weekly off practice' is that you can neither serve 'office' nor 'home'.

—The whole climate discourages you to ask for leave of absence . . . . There is also a climate of suspicion. If I send in a simple application saying that I am sick and therefore cannot come to work, they would not believe me.

—When one falls sick, two 'fears' grip a subordinate simultaneously : (1) the fear of illness, and (2) the fear of boss and his reaction.

ON SAMPARK SABHAS

—They are not held regularly.

—Most superiors do not like their subordinates to communicate bad news in the presence of so many people. They seem to have sudden fears that airing of a complaint (be it any kind) by a subordinate would reflect upon their own inefficiency so there is a general tendency to discourage open communication at these meetings.

—As subordinates, we, too, hesitate to open up because one is not sure how the boss/bosses at the highest level might react.

ON INDIVIDUAL DIGNITY AND RESPECT

—Sensitivity to the feelings and reactions of the subordinates is not held important by most of those who are in supervisory positions.

—Haven't you seen the way they load (like goods or cattle) 50 to 60 policemen together into a van which can hardly take 30 and then drive them out to control violent mobs. If the organisation has little regard for these policemen as human beings, would they have any regard for their fellow citizens ?

—Bosses are not 'people-oriented'. They are only 'task-oriented'.

ON WORKING HOURS

—Working hours in government is something you take for granted. In banks, in ministries, in insurance companies, and so on, it is eight hours. Government makes laws for others and then enforces them. But, why not enforce all these practices in police as well.

ON WORKING CONDITIONS

—A traffic inspector is treated as a 'second-rate citizen' as compared to his counterpart in district police.

—Having lived through these unclean conditions (in lavatories and wash rooms) for a long time, my sense of smell has itself scaled down.

—If the police department can trust the DCP (traffic) for management of so large a 'resource', as the traffic police itself, which is worth lakhs of rupees, can't they trust him for a few hundred rupees and his ability to spend them judiciously.

—On the one hand, we are constantly under pressure from our assistant commissioners that we must produce a minimum number of challans (say, 200 in a fortnight) and any failure to do so is deemed as 'inefficiency' but, on the other hand, things such as carbons, without which a challan cannot be written out in three copies, seem to be always in short supply. Most of the time, one has to beg, borrow or steal.

ON DEPARTMENTALLY-PROVIDED UNIFORMS

—Dirt, grime and sweat make the cotton uniform stink and you can't think of wearing them the next day.

—They give a feeling of slovenliness and uneasiness . . . . The total impact is : The uniform neither lends you a feeling of dignity nor of smartness. On the contrary, it lowers your respect in the eyes of the public.

—I do not know what others do with these uniforms, but to tell you frankly, we at home trade them for stainless steel utensils from those hawkers who occasionally visit our locality.

ON TRAINING

—Some of those who are put on the training job are themselves not sufficiently motivated trainers.

—We try to thoroughly screen the backgrounds of the men to act as 'trainers' and finally restrict our choice to two or three of them. Imagine my horror, when I sounded informally one of these 'two or three' field men about the possibility of being posted to the road safety cell, he said : Oh, *phus gaya* (Oh, I am trapped).

—What to speak of 'training', the entire unit—the road safety cell—I am incharge of, is somehow held in a rather low esteem by hundreds of officers and men within traffic itself . . . . Unimportant, useless, total waste of time, energy and effort—this is how they perceive us and our work.

ON SALARY

—Additional benefits like the motor-bike and free petrol are no doubt welcome. But, it is wrong to think of them as a part of total salary. They are given to us because of the nature of our duties (patrolling) and odd hours of work.

—I have put in about 6 years of service and my take-home pay is in the region of Rs. 880. I live in a rented accommodation and pay Rs. 400 as rent every month. Do you think the balance we are left is sufficient even for bare necessities of life for me and my family.

QUESTIONNAIRE

(We do not want to know your name. We only want to understand the problems you face in the performance of your day-to-day work)

1. Your present rank :
    1. Inspector
    2. Sub-Inspector
    3. Assistant Sub-Inspector
2. Your rank at the time of your entry into Delhi Police:
    1. Inspector
    2. Sub-Inspector
    3. Assistant Sub-Inspector
    4. Any other (specify)
3. Sex :
    1. Male
    2. Female
4 Age :
    1. 21-30 years
    2. 30-40 years
    3. 40-50 years
    4. Over 50 years
5. Education :
    1. Below Matric
    2. Matric
    3. Intermediate/Higher Secondary
    4. B.A./B.Sc.
    5. M.A./M Sc.
    6. Any Other
6. Length of service in Delhi Police :
    1. Less than 1 year
    2. 1-10 years
    3. 10-20 years
    4. 20-30 years
7. Length of service in Delhi Traffic Police :
    1. Less than 1 year
    2. 1-2 years

    3. 2-3 years

    4. 3-4 years

    5. 4-5 years

    6. Over 5 years

8. Nature of work in Delhi Traffic Police : *Is your work primarily* :

    1.   Indoor (in the sense that you are most of the time office desk-bound, concerned with general administrative/clerical work).

    2.   Outdoor (in the sense that you are most of the time out in the field carrying out tasks, such as traffic control and regulation, road-safety education, etc.)

9. When you joined Delhi Police, you were given training about the police work in general. But, were you given any special training about the work of Traffic Police when you came to work of it ?

    1. Yes

    2. No

10. If your answer to Question No. 9 is 'yes', what is your opinion about the training you got ?

    1. Good

    2. Adequate

    3. Poor

11. Would you say that the salary you are paid (including fringe benefits like free bus-rides/motorbike/patrol) is—

    1. Good

    2. Fair

    3. Poor

12. How many hours, on an average (please do not count the time taken to travel from home to point-of-duty and back), do you put in each working day ?

    1. 8 hours

    2. 8-9 hours

    3. 9-10 hours

    4. 10-11 hours

    5. 11-12 hours

    6. 12-13 hours

    7. 13-14 hours

13. Are you paid any compensation (cash or kind) for the extra hours put in ?
    1. Yes
    2. No

14. If no compensation for extra hours is paid, do you think such an official policy leads to loss of interest in work by most of the officers ?
    1. Yes
    2. No

15. Were you, at the time of your entry into Police, aware of the fact that in police organisation daily working hours are generally long and in excess of those prevailing in other types of public service ?
    1. Yes
    2. No

16. Given an option, would you prefer : a work-schedule whereby you are given set hours of duty (say, 8 a.m. to 3 p.m. or 3 p.m. to 10 p.m.), or a shift duty which, say, begins, at 8 a.m. and ends at 11 a.m., begins again at 2 p.m. and ends at 5 p.m. and so on ?
    1. Set hours
    2. Shift duty

17. Are you satisfied with the working conditions (pleasant surroundings in office, clean toilets, canteen facilities etc. for 'indoor' staff, and appropriate tools and equipment for 'outdoor' staff) to enable you to work efficiently and effectively ?
    1. Satisfied;
    2. Somewhat satisfied
    3. Dissatisfied

18. Are you satisfied with the departmentally-supplied uniforms ?
    Summer Uniforms
    1. Yes
    2. No

    Winter Uniforms
    1. Yes
    2. No

19. If you are not satisfied with departmentally-supplied uniforms, please tell us why ?

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20. Would you say that the uniforms worn by a majority of Inspectors/Sub-Inspectors/Assistant Sub-Inspectors at work every day are not the 'departmentally-supplied' but their own 'privately-paid-for' uniforms ?
   1. Yes
   2. No

21. The promotion formula, as used by Delhi Police in giving promotions to officers of your rank, is based upon a weightage system under which certain points (or marks) are assigned to characteristics, such as, 'seniority', 'number of commendation certificates earned', 'distinction in sports', 'performance during interview', etc., of each officer and then totalled for comparison with those of others. Do you think it is a fair and just criteria for promotion ?
   1. Yes
   2. No

22. If you do not accept this criteria as 'fair and just', please tell us why ?

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23. How good are your own promotion prospects in Delhi Police ?
   1. Good
   2. Nothing definite
   3. Almost dead-end

24. Police job is a 24-hour job, and there is no regular provision for a weekly-off. Do you think that a weekly-off should also be granted to those in the police service as in most other types of public service ?

1. Yes
2. No

25. If you think that weekly-off should also be granted to those in police service, please state your reasons :

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26. Are you satisfied with the working of 'Sampark Sabhas' as instruments for redress of your grievances ?
    1. Satisfied
    2. Somewhat satisfied
    3. Dissatisfied

27. Do you feel free, during the course of these 'Sabhas', to say whatever comes to your mind or are you careful to avoid things which might make your superiors feel bad about you ?
    1. Always free
    2. Sometimes free, sometimes careful
    3. Always careful

28. An employee in a free, democratic society has the right to expect respect and dignity as a human being from every management level above him. Would you say that the superior-subordinate relationship in Delhi Traffic Police, in general, is based upon such foundation ?
    1. Yes
    2. No

29. Do you think that your superior encourages you to express your views freely on matter concerning improvements in the working of the Traffic Police organisation, as a whole ?
    1. Yes
    2. No

30. If your answer to Question No. 29 is 'Yes', have you ever tried to contribute any useful idea ?
    1. Yes
    2. No

31. If you did suggest an idea (or two) in the past, was it

seriously listened to (if given orally) or considered (if given in writing) by your superiors ?

1. Yes
2. No

32. If you have never tried giving an idea/suggestion, is it because of
    1. Laziness on your part
    2. Lack of your own interest
    3. Absence of right climate for freedom of expression in police
    4. Disinterested superior
    5. Any other..

33. Generally speaking, there are three different ways in which leadership in organisations can be exercised :
    1. When your immediate boss just orders you to do something and you are supposed to carry out his orders;
    2. When he is sympathetic and understanding and wants you to have a say in all official plans/actions so that everyone in the team is involved in getting the work done; or
    3. When you can do just what you want to do, regardless of what your boss thinks.

    What type of leadership do you prefer ?
    1. Indicated at (1) above
    2. Indicated at (2) above
    3. Indicated at (3) above

34. Does the Traffic Police management (ACsP and above) appear to you as—
    1. Authoritarian
    2. Sympathetic and participative
    3. Interested neither in work nor in you as an employee

35. As compared to the spirit which generally binds together members of a volley-ball, football, or a hockey team, how would you rate the quality of this spirit prevailing in your team at the circle level ?
    1. Good
    2. Average
    3. Poor

36. Challaning means a crisis situation for traffic violators. When you are out on a road or street to apprehend such violators, how do most of them react to being challaned ?
    1. Willingly
    2. Somewhat willingly
    3. Grudgingly
37. How about the on-lookers who generally gather around to watch your operations. Do they take side with traffic violators or with the police ?
    1. With violators
    2. With police
38. The courts take a lot of time to dispose of the traffic cases you send them. As someone who is expected to enforce traffic laws and y et does not see the end-result of his efforts, please tell us what kind of feelings these delays and procedural deficiencies leave behind in you ?

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39. Do you think your circle is understaffed in comparison to the traffic problems you have to cope with in your area?
    1. Yes
    2. No
40. Do you believe that management has a responsibility to provide such recreational facilities (for use at the end of the work-day) that are essential for rest and relaxation and best working efficiency the next day ?
    1. Yes
    2. No
41. Delhi Police is a multiple-unit organisation. Please rank the following units in what you consider to be your overall order of preference for them. Mark them 1, 2, 3, beginning with the 'most preferred' (1) :
    1. DAP
    2. Security
    3. CID (Special)
    4. CID (Crime)
    5. Foreigners Registration Office

  6. Police Control Room
  7. Prosecution Branch
  8. Police Headquarters
  9. District Police ('thanas')
 10. Traffic Police

42. Work in the Traffic Police consists of a variety of tasks or activities and you are assigned to one of these for a given period of time. Could you also rank these tasks in what you consider to be your overall order of preference for them. Mark them 1, 2 and 3, beginning with the 'most preferred' (1) :
  1. Road Safety Education
  2. Office work
  3. Computerization of records
  4. VIP routes
  5. Parliament House duty
  6. Records Section
  7. Railway Stations/Inter-State Bus-stop
  8. Special checking/challaning
  9. Mobile courts
 10. Field duty (patrolling, challaning, management of circle/zone)

43. Are you satisfied with the time and leisure your job leaves to meet your personal, family and social needs ?

Personnel needs
  1. Satisfied
  2. Somewhat satisfied
  3. Dissatisfied

Family needs
  1. Satisfied
  2. Somewhat satisfied
  3. Dissatisfied

Social needs
  1. Satisfied
  2. Somewhat satisfied
  3. Dissatisfied

44. Would you say that the reputation of Delhi traffic police

in the eyes of the public over the past 20 years or so has —

1. Risen
2. Remained the same
3. Fallen

45. Would you like to suggest ways, if any (excluding salaries and other financial incentives) in which the top management can do something to improve efficiency of the staff at your own level as well as of those below you :

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46. You have served Delhi police for some time and, hence, you should be familiar by and large, with its plus as well as minus points. Suppose, you were to begin your career afresh and have a choice between a police job and another comparable government job in Delhi, do you think you would still be inclined to choose the police job ?

1. Yes
2. No